

CONFLICT AND THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL:
PERSPECTIVES OF EDUCATION, LEISURE, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY.

ERICA J. WIMBUSH

Ph.D.
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
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I declare that this thesis has been composed by me
and is entirely my own work.

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ABSTRACT

The research has focused on the community school as a local experiment in the 'open' principles of community education within the traditionally 'closed' institution of the secondary school.

Part I of the thesis is concerned with a discussion of the ideology and theory of community education. Following an introduction to the research subject in Chapter 1, the 'theoretical ideology', or discourse, underlying the contemporary community school movement (referred to as 'holistic education') is analysed in Chapter 2. This emphasises its historical development as an educational solution to the problems of rapid social change. The conflicts and contradictions intrinsic to the ideology of community education and its anomalous position within the existing education system provide the basis for the formulation of a theoretical framework in Chapter 3. This gave the study a dual focus: The intra-professional ideological conflict and the school-community conflict.

Part II of the thesis is concerned with an empirical study of community education in practice. Chapter 4 outlines and critically examines the qualitative approach to methodology adopted in the case study of a community school in Edinburgh, Wester Hailes Education Centre (WHEC). Chapter 5 examines the 'practical ideologies' of the three constituent groups of interest identified within the educational environment of WHEC (local authority officials and representatives, community school staff and local residents) in terms of their experiences and understandings of the WHEC experiment. In Chapter 6, an analysis of the interview data reveals the bases for conflict among groups within the research setting in terms of their contrasting perspectives of education and leisure within school and community.

In Part III of the thesis, the final Chapter tries to draw together the theoretical concepts and empirical data in an analysis of conflict and contradiction in relation to the community school.

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PREFACE

Project's Background

This research was undertaken as a Social Science Research Council 'linked' studentship award at the University of Edinburgh between November 1977 and 1980. The underlying idea of the postgraduate training scheme is that the student's work should be 'linked' to the current projects and interests of a research body, in this case the Tourism and Recreation Research Unit (TRRU), and thus have the opportunity to benefit from the skills and guidance of other research staff.

The initial decision was to pursue a line of research concerning issues related to retirement and leisure since this was a TRRU project which was at the time in the planning-proposal stage. This first years research contributed to a joint publication for the SSRC/Sports Council Panel's State of the Art Review, 'Leisure and the Over 50s' (Long and Wimbush, 1979).

However, two years elapsed before TRRU received any firm financial support for sponsorship of this project, and meanwhile, in March 1978, another research proposal concerning community schools in the Lothian Region had been pursued since this appeared to be of immediate local educational and political importance and seemed likely to be funded as a major research project. The aim of the TRRU study was to monitor, analyse and evaluate the progressive development of the community-leisure dimension of three new community schools in the Region over a period of five years.

One component of the study comprised an in-depth examination of the views and attitudes of the constituent interests involved with the development of the three community schools, their management and the formulation of policies affecting them. This aspect of the study was seen as providing a general background against which to examine data generated by monitoring surveys of the changing patterns of community-leisure use and activity in the schools.

It was this particular qualitative element of the larger study which was selected and developed both theoretically and methodologically to form the basis of this postgraduate research. In the event, the local education authority, the potential sponsoring body, decided to concentrate on educational issues in its research programme, rather than the community-leisure emphasis proposed by TRRU , and asked the Scottish Council for Research in Education to undertake the inquiry.

The decision to focus only on Wester Hailes Education Centre, rather than all three new community schools (as proposed in the TRRU project) was based upon practical constraints, such as transport and human resources. Had the TRRU project been running simultaneously to my own work, a wider arena of 'local' interests may have been included, such as personnel from all three schools and their catchment areas.

The studentship, then, has not evolved in such a fashion that it was 'linked' specifically to an ongoing TRRU research project , although it has served as a valuable forum for learning and training in the field of social and leisure research.

The research presented here is considered as the arena within which

sociological theories and concepts have been critically developed and practical research experience gained. The development of theory should not be regarded as a finite, or finished, process - constraints of time and money have forced a commitment of ideas to paper , but I am aware of the continual scope for further theoretical development and refinement. In this sense, the learning process by which the end-product was attained may be regarded as equally valuable (if not more) as the end-product itself.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The 1970s and 1980s have witnessed growing speculation in political, industrial and professional circles about the implications of technological change for the major economic and social institutions of Western industrial societies. Surmise about the nature and form of the new social order, often referred to as the 'post-industrial society', is central to the debate. Although, in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the use of the term 'post-industrial society' implies, for example, technological homogeneity (Nicholson,1977), it is often applied in idealist discussions of both the pessimistic possibilities (Toffler,1971) and the optimistic potential (Stonier,1980) of large-scale societal change in the late twentieth century. Within this mode of social forecasting, typically, contemporary society is regarded as transitional, moving towards a new phase of economic and social development which will be as different to industrial societies as these are to the agrarian societies that they replaced (Kumar,1978). Although the social response to technical change remains a matter of controversy, a common feature of these speculations is that the traditional relationship between work and leisure in industrial societies will be transformed.

What are the effects of such transformations on the development of education? Within the politico-professional body of educationalists, speculation about future forms of education has been apparent in the growing acceptance of, and support for, the ideas engendered in 'holistic education', a term used in this thesis to refer to the conceptions of lifelong, recurrent, permanent, continuing and,

latterly, community education. The possible development of an educational system in which learning is viewed as a process occurring throughout life and in a multiplicity of situations has provided the theme for a number of recent international conferences and reports (e.g., Seymour and Edmonds, 1979). In the United Kingdom the influence of this new line of thinking was seen in the Russel Report in 1973, the Alexander Report in 1975 and the Venables Report in 1976, all of which recommended the remodelling of post-compulsory education on the principles of 'lifelong learning'. The current educational debate has stemmed from a questioning of the established 'front-end' model of education, in which resources are concentrated in the compulsory school sector and education is largely confined to childhood and youth; it is underpinned by the changing socio-economic conditions that are said to have precipitated a transformation in the relationship between education/school, work and leisure (Entwistle, 1981).

It is suggested that the contemporary community school provides an example of the experimentation by a number of local education authorities in some of the principles of holistic education and represents an attempt to bridge the gap between compulsory school education and holistic education. More generally, pressures for reform in schooling have brought a gradual widening of the use of schools' educational and recreational facilities, as seen in the growth of community-use, joint-provision and neighbourhood schools since the 1970s.

In Chapter 2, the link between fundamental socio-economic change and the historical development of the ideology of holistic education is

examined. It is suggested that this ideology has grown up as an educational response to the conditions and problems of rapid socio-economic change.

But do the ideals and aims of holistic education command credibility when implemented in the existing socio-political order, such as in the form of the community school?

In Chapter 2, the ideals and aims of the contemporary community school movement are examined in the context of the historical development of the ideology of holistic education. A Gramscian 'positive' conception of ideology is adopted, i.e., ideology as the expression of the 'world-view' of a class (Gramsci, 1971). It focuses on ideology as discourse: what the exponents of holistic education state as their intentions, what they say, or argue, and what they are trying to achieve through such educational reforms. In this way, an attempt is made to analyse the powerful, and often unacknowledged, aims and intentions underlying the emergence of this 'new' educational ideology.

By opening up the community school to include the local adult population in its activities, there is an attempt to establish a reciprocal relationship between school and community through the integration of the cultural processes of education and leisure. However, in trying to reconcile the 'open' principles of holistic education within the 'closed' institution of the secondary school, many community schools have experienced the conflicts and contradictions inherent in this anomalous situation. Research in this field, while revealing the empirical existence of such conflict, has

made little attempt to explain or analyse it in relation to either the wider process of social and educational change or the structural conditions of 'advanced capitalism' that underlie such changes. An attempt to redress this deficiency has provided the main focus for the theoretical analysis of community education and schooling in Chapter 3. As such, it is hoped that the study will contribute to a sociological understanding of this 'community' approach to education and schooling.

Part II of the thesis is concerned with an empirical study of the practice of community education in the context of a particular community school. It is concerned to evaluate the 'lived experience' of an experiment which has attempted to implement some of the ideals and aims of holistic education. Thus, a principal aim of the fieldwork was to analyse the 'practical ideologies' of a school-based experiment in community education where these are defined as:

"...the way they live the relation between them and their conditions of existence. This presupposes both a real relation and an 'imaginary' relation." (Althusser, 1977:233)

This definition of ideology breaks with the traditional conception of ideology as 'false consciousness' and revalues the sense of ideology as lived experience rather than merely thought.

The fieldwork was based on a small-scale case study of a purpose-built community school in Edinburgh, the Wester Hailes Education Centre (WHEC). Informed by the notion of 'conflict' and the community school, three main areas of interest were identified within the 'educational environment' of WHEC:

- i) The resident population of the community school's catchment,

which was seen as both a pool of potential consumers of WHEC's educational and recreational services and a resource for the school's community education programme ;

- ii) the community school and its staff, which were seen as both a primary focus for the local authority's experiment in school-based community education and an educational and recreational resource for the community; and
- iii) the administrative and policy-making body of local government officials and elected representatives, which was seen both to influence and determine educational policy and, as 'providers', to control the allocation and distribution of educational resources.

An in-depth interview survey was carried out which comprised informal, tape-recorded, semi-structured interviews, held with 31 respondents selected from these three main groups. All the interviews were transcribed verbatim to preserve the qualitative material in its original detail and to allow for continuous cross-reference and flexibility in the analysis. Some quantitative analytical techniques were used, not only to summarise the mass of descriptive data, but also as a method for exploring and verifying relationships and structures suggested by qualitative analysis. The methodological approach adopted in the research is outlined and critically assessed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 examines the research setting of the community school in terms of the three main groups of interest, outlined above, by looking at their different levels of expectation, experience and involvement in the Centre. This is intended to provide an explorative background

account of the practical ideologies of the different groups involved in the community school experiment.

Chapter 6 goes on to examine the notion of conflict through an analysis of the empirical data concerning the ideas about leisure, education, school and community as expressed by individuals within the research setting. These concepts were seen as central to the community school ideal.

Part III, comprising Chapter 7, is a theoretical analysis of the relationship between the 'theoretical ideology' (discourse) of community education, which was discussed and analysed in Part I, and the practical ideologies (lived experience) of community education, as presented in the case study of a community school in Part II of the thesis. Giddens' theory of structuration (1979) provides the conceptual framework for the application of the concepts of conflict, contradiction, domination and power to the empirical data. By testing out and refining theoretical approaches through primary data, a more systematic and theory-based evaluation of the empirical reality of conflict and the community school has been possible.

PART 1 : IDEOLOGY AND THEORY IN COMMUNITY EDUCATION

CHAPTER 2: THE IDEOLOGY OF HOLISTIC EDUCATION - AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE CONTEMPORARY COMMUNITY SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

- 2.1. 'HOLISM'
- 2.2. HOLISTIC EDUCATION'S HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
- 2.3. HOLISTIC EDUCATION - A 'NEW' EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGY
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INTRODUCTION

The aim of Chapter 2 is to place the historical development of the contemporary community school movement within the broader context of ideology. This historical analysis of the ideology of holistic education is based on an assumption that there is a dynamic and complex inter-relationship between the development of ideas about education and changing socio-economic conditions and forms of production. According to the 'dominant ideology' thesis, the dominant ideology in any historical era is the expression of the 'world-view' of the dominant class and serves to defend and promote its interests. In their essay on this concept of ideology, Abercrombie and Turner (1978) argued that 'the dominant ideology is best seen as securing the coherence of the dominant class'. This implies that much of the educational ideology of the community school movement has a particular political colour, and by focusing on the ideology of holistic education it is hoped to penetrate the powerful, and often unacknowledged, motives that underlie its emergence in the late twentieth century.

It is argued that as changes occur in the forms of production, the pressures for adjustment and change in the ideological and institutional levels of society have arisen. In this way, many of the supporters of holistic education, like theorists of post-industrial society, have raised issues of large-scale societal change and refer to many of the reformist themes of nineteenth century social and educational thought. This Chapter examines the effect of these socio-economic transformations on the historical development of educational ideology and emphasises how education functions in the interests of

capital in the general adjustment process of 'superstructural' elements (social, cultural, political and ideological) of the social totality.

In this Chapter, 'ideology' is used in the positive sense of the expression of the 'world-view' of a class. Within this line of thinking (associated with Lenin, Lukacs and Gramsci), Larrain defined 'ideologies', in the plural, as 'the opinions, theories and attitudes formed within a class in order to defend and promote its interests' (1979:14). Adopting this general definition, Giddens stresses that one sense of the dominant ideology thesis is that ideology operates in society to achieve domination and power through the representation of sectional interests as universal ones (1979:193-6).

By focusing on the ideology, or 'grand design', of holistic education , this Chapter is less concerned with the effects of community schooling in practice. However, this is not to suggest that the 'effects' will be those intended, or as envisaged, by the educational reformers associated with the development of this 'new' educational ideology. Rather, it is argued that given the domination inherent in the concept of ideology and the general opacity of structural conditions for individuals (Althusser, 1966:55), there will be 'unintended consequences' (Merton, 1968) in the implementation of these ideological notions in the real world . For example, the autonomous power often envisaged for schools has never been realised in practice since they constitute but one element of the complex apparatus of cultural reproduction which also includes an array of other powerful 'educational' activities, such as work, leisure, the

family and neighbourhood. In this sense, Johnson regards schools as 'reproducing the characteristic antagonisms of the social formation as a whole', rather than the perfect worker in 'ideological subjection' (1976:52). In relation to holistic education, the aim to provide open access for all ages to educational opportunities throughout life suggests a free market view of society where the provider is the entrepreneur and the public are the consumers. However, given the middle class bias of adult education (National Institute of Adult Education, 1970), this aim has been distorted owing to its operation within a society where educational opportunities are differentially distributed and where the reasons for these inequalities are located within the class structure. Neither the entrepreneur or the consumer has ultimate power when the state at a national and local level intervenes and controls the flow of educational products (Lowe, 1970:32-41).

The unintended consequences of social action based on ideology are of central significance to functionalist social theory, including Marxist functionalism. They were described by Giddens as 'a chronic feature of human life' because:

"The escape of human history from human intentions, and the return of the consequences on that escape, are causal influences on human life." (Giddens, 1979:7)

Similarly, Mennel argued that in order to discover and explain social action, it is necessary to study both 'the subjective knowledge and assumptions on which people base their actions, and also the objective social interdependencies of which they may be wholly or partly unaware'(1980:163). This suggests a sociological approach to the study of community education which embraces both an analysis of the

historical and structural factors that underlie the emergence of this 'new' ideology and form of education in the late twentieth century (Part 1), and an examination of the meanings that people attach to the lived reality of community education in practice (Part 2).

2.1. 'HOLISM'

First, it is necessary to explain the relationship between this 'new' educational ideology, referred to here as 'holistic education', and the concept of 'holism', as used in the social sciences.

'Holism' denotes the thesis of 'organic unities' and is fundamental to this educational ideology. It states ~~that~~, that wholes are more than the sums of their constituent parts, in the sense that 'the wholes in question have characteristics that cannot be explained in terms of the properties and relations to one another of their constituents.' (Bullock and Stallybrass, 1977: 288).

In relation to philosophy, 'holism' is central to idealist theories of the State, particularly those inspired by Hegel's notion of the universality of reason which posits that 'it is the source of the Universal in which the Particular is comprehended' (Barth, 1976). Briefly and crudely, these theories contend that the social order originates in collective ideas and thoughts, or collective consciousness. For example, Durkheim (1976) traced back the social origin of ideology to the subjectivity of the general collective reality of society. In normative theory, social change is brought about through changed thinking in which some higher or better life is

projected as a way of judging behaviour or indicating action (Cuff and Payne, 1979). Historically, such idealism is apparent in many of the 'great educators' visions of the future. For example, Leonard states in 'Education and Ecstasy' (1968) that 'I cannot refrain from expressing my vision of a possible future brought about by my indignation at present day reality and my hopes in better times to come.' For such theorists, individual and collective ideas and action provide the moving force of change in society, as opposed to politico-economic forces emanating from its material basis and historical practices.

From a structuralist perspective, the concept of 'holism' denotes theories which claim that society should be studied in terms of social totalities and that the methodology of social science should be concerned with social, political and economic phenomena and movements, rather than with individuals and individual ideas and behaviour (Flew, 1979). It postulates that the existence of 'social wholes', with their own laws, functions and needs, are the primary determinants of individual beliefs, values, attitudes and actions, and, therefore, that the study of social structures and historical processes are fundamental to any social analysis (Ryan, 1970). For example, for Marx it was the historical practices, contradictions and material conditions within society which determine ideology. According to the structuralist interpretation of 'holism', forces within the social structure are the major force of social change and the individual subject is insignificant in the process.

The contradictory way in which the concept of 'holism' has been interpreted in the social sciences - the normative and idealist

theorists arguing for the centrality of the individual, the structuralists arguing against it - partly explains the paradoxical elements apparent within the ideology of holistic education. For example, Henry Morris (1926) and others inspired by his ideas of the village college adopted the idealist notion of 'holism' by stressing the potency of the individual to bring about change through his 'total' educational development. More recently, however, exponents of holistic education, particularly those advocating lifelong education, as a consequence of their views of the immutable and constraining relationship between education and society, have attributed less primacy to the individual in effecting social change through the education process. Yet, as Morris held, the individual is central to the learning process itself and the 'ideology of individualism' is a key feature of holistic education (Keddie, 1980). The implications of this paradox for community education will be discussed more fully in section 2.5. of this Chapter, but it is first necessary to examine the content and historical development of the ideology of holistic education.

2.2. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HOLISTIC EDUCATION

In order to understand the contemporary emergence of the community school movement, it is necessary to examine the historical development of its underlying ideology, referred to here as 'holistic education'. In doing this, it is hoped to relate the community school to the historical process of movement, change and development in educational forms and ideology, and how this relates to wider socio-economic

transformations.

Although holistic education is often referred to in the text as a 'new' educational ideology, it is not a recent phenomenon. Its ideology has been developed, and to a limited extent implemented, during critical periods of social and economic transition and change when the question has been raised as to 'how man is located in the social order' (Luckmann, 1967:9). The need for education to mediate and perform an adjustment role during periods of socio-economic change is evident in the historical emergence of the various interpretations of holistic education's ideology. This can be seen in the ideas of Comenius (1592-1670) whose proposals for the reform of education and human society as a whole were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth century during the shift from religious to scientific 'paradigms' (Comenius, 1938); in the ideas of John Dewey (1916 and 1938) and Henry Morris (1926) during the era of industrialisation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and more recently in the ideas of lifelong, recurrent, permanent, continuing and community education which have emerged during the era of 'post-industrialism' in the late twentieth century.

In each of these periods of material and social transformation, the perception of a 'knowledge explosion' and escalating social problems and unrest gave rise to the need to exert more centralised control through the expansion and formalisation of the existing educational apparatus. It is suggested that the historical development of holistic education's ideology in periods of radical socio-economic change indicates its principal feature, i.e., to facilitate social adaptation and change in existing skills, values, attitudes and lifestyles,

through the 'total' educational development of the individual, and by 'integrating education with the entirety of an individual's activities at all stages of his life' (Vinokur, 1976: 326).

Historically, holistic education's ideology has emerged as an educational response to the problems of social change. It has been advocated by educational reformers who have opposed the increasing complexity and fragmentation in modern social organisation and the attendant problems of alienation and the inequitable distribution of educational resources in society. They have tended to emphasise rather the value of integration and cooperation and the need for flexibility and decentralisation in the education process. In the late twentieth century educational reforms based on the ideology of holistic education have taken on a 'global' perspective largely through the work of the international organisation, UNESCO, in developing countries. Through the development of lifelong education, they aim to promote the consensus values engendered in 'education for international understanding, cooperation and peace, and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms'(UNESCO,1977:37).

2.2.1. Holistic Education and Industrialism

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, within the historical context of a morally conservative and nostalgic view of social change held among a group of social commentators, such as Tonnies in 1887 (Tonnies, 1957), Carlyle in 1843 (Mathieson, 1975: 88) and the Newcastle Commission in 1861, aspects of holistic education's ideology were developing among a group of humanist 'progressive' reformers .For

example, Herbert Spencer's 'Education' in 1861 and William Morris' 'News from Nowhere' (1970)⁷ showed concern for the regeneration of 'community', social cohesion and integration through the educational development of 'the whole child', or 'the whole man' and the 'integrated personality'. They argued that this 'holistic' approach to education would assist in the problematic process of adjustment and integration in a changing, industrialising society (Feinberg, 1975; Bernbaum, 1979).

In the early twentieth century, elements of holistic education's ideology were expressed by the American educational reformer, John Dewey, in his works 'Democracy and Education' (1916) and 'Experience and Education' (1938). Linked to his methodology of experiential learning and 'reflective inquiry', were Dewey's ideas about opening up school education as a reaction against the conventional isolated and autonomous school. In recognition of the importance of the 'socio-cultural context' of education, he argued that the development of a community-oriented curriculum would make schooling more effective and relevant to pupils' lives. Dewey's educational approach has been interpreted as a romantic nostalgia for the traditional 'organic' community in which schools served to disseminate and reinforce the culture of the locality (Skilbeck, 1970). Such cultural determinism continued as a distinctive feature in his contemporary Morris (1926) and also in the notion of community education developed in the locality-based Educational Priority Area (EPA) projects in the 1960s, which will be discussed later in the Chapter. Dewey's idea was to use the local cultural context as an educational resource from which to understand, and adapt to, social, political and material

changes, constraints and demands. His beliefs concerning a reciprocal interaction between school and community marked the beginning of a 'community' approach to schooling, in which the professional educators aim to recruit the support and participation of local people in the development of education and schooling.

Dewey's English contemporary, Henry Morris, was the Director of Education in Cambridgeshire between 1922 - 1954. He devised and constructed a local network of 'village colleges' in an attempt to combat what he perceived as the increasing social disintegration of rural community life, as a consequence of the growing industrialisation and urbanisation of British society (Poster, 1969; Ree, 1973). Unlike the other holistic educators of industrialism, Morris did not focus his reforms solely on the education of children. The village colleges were established to cater for the whole age range of local rural areas. He set up the framework for a series of local-based institutions which would provide an educational, recreational and cultural focus for rural communities which, like Dewey, aimed for the 'unfettered' development of the (work and leisure) skills and interests of the local population:

"The welfare of the communities and the vigour and prosperity of their social life depend on the extent to which centres of unfettered initiative can be developed within them. The great task of education is to convert society into a series of cultural communities... where every local community would become an educative society." (Morris, 1926)

In holistic education's ideology this ideal of the 'educative society' recurs frequently. It can be seen as a reaction against the historical development of universal statutory schooling since the 1870 Education Act and the gradual confinement of education to institutional forms.

Like his contemporary liberal educational reformers, such as the post-war New Educational Fellowship (Simon, 1977), Morris aimed to give his educational ideals universal significance. To the extent that his village college is an educational model that was subsequently adopted by other local education authorities and has had a strong influence on the later community college/school movement (Poster, 1969; Ree, 1973; Smith and Smith, 1974; Jones, 1978), this claim was partly justified. However, only the more conservative elements of Morris' innovations (i.e. the joint provision of school and community facilities and the unitary democratic management structure) were taken up to any significant extent by other local education authorities until the mid-1960s (Jones, 1978).

Morris' holistic educational beliefs represent a paternalistic and remedial strategy for dealing with the problems of integration and adjustment, accruing from the changing material and social conditions of industrial England in the early decades of the twentieth century. They were perpetuated by other holistic educators in the latter part of the twentieth century. Just as the problems of socio-economic inequalities in rural Cambridgeshire provided the historical background for the emergence of holistic education's ideology in the form of Morris' village colleges in the 1920s and 1930s, so the problems of inequality associated with the economic decline and depopulation of inner-city areas provided the historical context for the re-emergence of this educational ideology within the five EPA community education projects, implemented between 1968 and 1971, and in the later community college/school movement (Pappas, 1975; Jones, 1978: 10 - 11).

The village college concept was adapted over this period from Morris' rural model to the socio-spatial context of suburban areas, New Towns, and inner city areas. The community colleges in Great Britain, which developed since the 1944 Education Act, have placed greatest emphasis on the economic expediency of the shared use of facilities in secondary schools (Jones, 1978). This was a result of central government's financial incentives in the form of allowances for the provision of evening classes and minor building programmes (D.E.S. circulars, 1955 and 1962; Albermarle Report, 1958), and recommendations for the joint school/community use of sports and recreational facilities (Wolfenden Report, 1960; D.E.S. circulars 11/64 and 2/70). Whereas Morris' village colleges relied on voluntary funding and local-based control and support (Smith and Smith, 1974), these later community colleges have been financed solely by local and central government and are, therefore, subject to greater State control. Accordingly, the facilities and plant have become successively more elaborate and expensive, so that the contemporary community college/school is often referred to as a 'community campus' or 'community complex'. Examples of these include the Abraham Moss Centre in Manchester, opened in 1973 at a cost of £2.5 million (D.E.S. Building Bulletin, 49, 1973); the Sutton Centre in Sutton-in-Ashfield, opened in 1973 at a cost of £1 million (Nottinghamshire County Council, 1971); the Stantonbury Campus in Milton Keynes, (Cooksey, 1971); and Wester Hailes Education Centre in Edinburgh, opened in 1978 at a cost of £6.5 million (Foulkes, 1978).

The EPA concept of a 'community school' ,to which the contemporary

model owes much in terms of its modern ideological content, developed as part of the 'community approach' to social provision, typical of British planning in the late 1960s. This approach was originally conceived in a series of government Reports (e.g., the Milner and Holland Report, 1965; Plowden Report, 1967; Skeffington Report, 1968; Seeborn Report, 1968) which reflected the contemporary analyses of urban industrial problems: Poverty, inequality, alienation and social disintegration in 'disadvantaged' areas were problems that could be resolved, or at least ameliorated, through more efficient inter-service and inter-professional cooperation and a more expedient use of services and resources (Simpson, 1970; Jackson, 1970). In the context of this compensatory 'community' approach, holistic education's ideology was developed further by some of the more 'radical' project leaders in the EPA's, most notably Halsey (1972) and Midwinter (1972 and 1973) in their concept of the community school, and Lovett (1971, 1975) in his approach to 'community' adult education.

The compensatory view of the community school, proposed initially in the Plowden Report (1967), was regarded by Halsey (1972) as an 'essential principle' in EPA policy. It was 'shown to have greater substance and powerful implications for community regeneration in modern industrial society' (1972:180). The EPA's theme of 'the school as a base for community development' (Ashcroft, 1975) provides a clear link with the ideological rhetoric of Henry Morris and John Dewey in the early twentieth century. In addition, the concept of an 'educative society', expressed by the earlier proponents of holistic education, re-emerged in relation to the EPA community school, similarly allied to the notion of 'relevance' in the curricula and the 'linkage' of the

school with other educational situations, resources and services in its local socio-cultural environment (Halsey, 1972: 189).

The compensatory 'community' education programmes of this later period of industrialism adopted an idea of 'participation' and 'community work' that is associated with the political ideology of 'pluralist democracy' (Skrimshire, 1981). This educational approach was indicated by Halsey's and Midwinter's aims to foster closer school-community links and greater parental involvement in the community school, and also in Lovett's attempts to increase participation by the working class in adult education (Lovett, 1975). The EPA notion of 'participation' in education marked the point at which the partial and changing concept of 'community of interests', characteristic of post-industrialism, began to be expressed in holistic education's ideology and the significance of the work-centred 'gemeinschaft' community was eclipsed (Halsey, 1972: 189).

During the era of industrialism, holistic education's ideology developed in response to the progressive weakening of the traditional local-based work-centred community and a deterioration of its close-knit relationships and control mechanisms (Dennis, 1958). Attempts to preserve the industrial concept of community, evident in the cultural determinism of Dewey, Morris and the EPA community educators, are regarded as merely a 'temptation to nostalgia' (Touraine, 1974: 197). Morris' 'nostalgia' is clearly shown in his belief in preserving the (agri)cultural life of rural areas (Jones, 1978: 7). For Halsey (1972) and Midwinter (1973), 'nostalgia' is expressed in their view that a working class child's educational development is dependent on its own cultural experiences, which renders the middle-class culture

of the school as 'foreign, remote, bizarre, irrelevant and unrealistic in terms of his background' (Midwinter, 1973: 36). It has been argued that the effect of such cultural determinism is merely to promote 'parochialism' and a 'ghetto attitude' (Jackson, 1977), and that it is opposed to the aspirations for socio-economic advancement through education of the working class themselves (Musgrove, 1979). Indeed, this basis for local resistance to community education may explain the need for EPA community educators to adopt a strategy of confrontation (Halsey, 1972; Lovett, 1979).

The present-day approach to community schooling and community education has retained this localist approach, partly as an element of the Labour Party's principle of 'positive discrimination'. But it has also been argued that area-based policies have some chance of systematically affecting those most disadvantaged by the class-based system, given that the social composition of urban industrial areas is not arbitrary (Harvey, 1973), and the effects of class structure are most acute in socially homogeneous areas (Smith, 1977; Skrimshire, 1978). Thus, Skrimshire optimistically concludes that:

"...positive discrimination...can raise a community school experiment from the level of an expedient use of resources to that of redistributive social policy." (1981: 58).

The manifest failure of the 1960s and 1970s reformist strategies, epitomised in the 'community' approach, to resolve social and educational problems of alienation and inequality brought harsh criticism from the political Left and Right. The reaction of the Right was seen in the 'back to basics' stance of the Black Papers (Cox and Boyson, 1975 & 1977). The political Left advanced critiques of

localism, stressing the politico-economic basis of the problems of social inequality and the need for radical political action (Coates and Silburn, 1970; Cheetham and Hill, 1973; Raggat, 1979; Musgrave, 1979; Smith, Lees and Topping, 1977). From the liberal position, the correlation between educational expansion and economic growth began to be challenged (Emmerij, 1974). The view in the 1960s that 'more education is better education' was refuted by a number of research studies in both advanced and developing countries (Jencks et al, 1974; Westergaard and Resler, 1975). The general conclusion was that educational reforms, such as compensatory education and comprehensive schooling, barely effected class-based inequalities, although 'the effects of these barriers became obscured from view' (Westergaard and Resler, 1975: 322), and that it is impossible 'to provide equality of opportunity in an unequal socio-economic system'. (O.E.C.D., 1973: 11). According to Simon, the failure of the educational reforms of the 1960s and 1970s 'contributed to what is almost a current consensus - that little of significance can be achieved as regards social change through education' (1977: 37).

2.2.2. Holistic Education and Post-Industrialism

The general disillusionment in educational and political circles with the liberal-reformist policies of the 1960s , brought a more fundamental and persistent criticism of the institution of the school itself. In the light of schools' traditional isolation and failure to keep pace with wider socio-economic changes, arguments were put forward throughout the 1970s and early 1980s that the existing system

of schooling was in need of serious reconsideration (Illich, 1971; Gass, 1973; Topper and Salter, 1978; Husen, 1979; Bernbaum, 1979; Scottish Education Department, 1980). The fear that criticisms of the established system of schooling might erode public confidence in schools provided the political context for central government's initiation of the Great Debate in 1977 on the aims of education and the setting up of the Taylor Committee of Enquiry on the government and management of schools (Raggat, 1979). This fear was expressed by Peter Fulton of the Taylor Committee:

"It is clear to me that parents and the community in general, to a very considerable extent, have lost confidence in our schools. It is vital for the educational well-being of the country that confidence is restored as soon as possible." (Taylor Report, 1977).

These criticisms of mainstream education and schooling, combined with the advent of 'post-industrial society' (Bell, 1974; Touraine, 1974), have contributed to the re-emergence of holistic education's ideology in the late twentieth century. Educationalists have frequently asserted that the model of lifelong education provides an appropriate 'grand design' for post-industrial society (O.E.C.D., 1973, 1975, 1977; Schwarz, 1974; Dave, 1976; Flude and Parrot, 1979; Husen, 1979; Walls, 1980; Times Educational Supplement, 30.1.81). For example, an important element of the European Cultural Foundation's 'Plan Europe 2000' was the 'Education' project (which was concerned with the implementation of permanent education) which aimed to develop a 'new concept of man' on the assumption that the relation of the individual to the social order is undergoing radical transformation (Schwarz, 1974).

Although the thesis of a post-industrial society has been criticised for implying technological determinism and homogeneity (Nicholson,

1979; Entwistle, 1981), its essential claim is that the progression from mechanisation to automation in the production process underpins the present development of the socio-economic order. The transformation of production envisaged in post-industrial society is said to have the following consequences on the labour market:

- i) Increasing the demand for highly-qualified , technical and professional labour;
- ii) Displacing unskilled and skilled manual labour as the industrial 'worker' is replaced by the technical 'operator';
- iii) Declining employment in the manufacturing sector and the virtual disappearance of traditional craft industries;
- iv) Expansion of the tertiary sector (administration, information, research, recreation, education, distribution, communication and transport services).

(Jenkins and Sherman, 1979; Janne, 1976)

The social implications of this 'quantum leap in technology' are seen as a threat to existing social and economic conditions of industrialised societies, in particular the assumption of full employment (Clemitsen and Rodgers, 1981). Changes in socio-cultural life have been predicted with the increasing pluralisation of society (Roberts, 1970; Smith, Parker and Smith, 1973; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975), the changing relationship between work and leisure (Parker, 1971; Cherry and Travis, 1980; Jenkins and Sherman, 1981; Entwistle, 1981; Kelly, 1982), and the growth of a new individualism as traditional social constraints break down (Coalter and Parry, 1982). Factors contributing to the disintegration of past forms of

social life are seen as the dissolution of traditional responsibilities and duties, the destruction of traditional work-centred communities and the decline of localism, the growth of consumerism and the processes of embourgeoisement and privatisation (Touraine, 1974).

The ideology of holistic education in the late twentieth century depicts a set of beliefs and humanist ideals concerning the social order envisaged in a post-industrial society. The socio-political order upon which holistic education's ideology is founded is that of an egalitarian pluralist democracy, and the 'new concept of man' is one of a 'social', 'autonomous', 'flexible' and 'critical' individual, participating within it (Schwarz, 1974; Dave, 1976; Skrimshire, 1981). The 'organic unities' philosophy of holism is expressed in the projected pluralism and diversity of cultural life 'preserved within the unity of the whole' (Schwarz, 1974). The projected growth in the diversity and pluralism of modern social and economic life (Emery and Trist, 1972) is seen to necessitate the increasing reorientation of social organisation towards more centralised control and coordination, but decentralisation in the institutional superstructure (Janne, 1976). Based on these principles, an holistic education system would comprise 'units of limited size enjoying functional autonomy', as denoted by the concept of 'educational districts', which would be centrally controlled in terms of educational standards, values, policies and innovations (Janne, 1976; Schwarz, 1974Z). Decentralisation is also conceived at the local level through the diffusion of education and the re-distribution of educational resources throughout the 'length and breadth' of community life,

rather than concentrated in institutions .

The radical social and economic transformation of post-industrialism, especially the shift from production (work) to consumption (leisure), is seen to be reinforced by a decline in the work ethic as the main source of values. The more abstract values of individuality, flexibility and autonomy are seen to gain increasing significance in the transition from a work- to a leisure-centred society (Emery and Trist, 1972; Dumazdier, 1974; Rapoport, 1975). Accordingly, the politicians Clemitson and Rodgers (1981) referred to the contemporary need to foster a new code of moral and cultural values , which they termed the 'life ethic', as the dominant social value guiding future policy-making and planning. It has been argued that lifelong education would make a major contribution to 'the renewal of value systems' through the expansion and integration of the learning process 'in time and space', and thus the development of a 'learning society' (Kirpal, 1976: 99).

In the transition to post-industrial society, changes in the 'risk-security balance' and an 'increased burden of choice' are forecast (Emery and Trist, 1972). Thus, the notion of 'education for flexibility' is said to be paramount (Schwarz, 1974) to enable institutions and individuals to be responsive to changing economic and employment conditions and opportunities. Accordingly, Flude and Parrot proposed that a system of recurrent education would enable the continuous adaptation of training and skills to meet the labour requirements of the time:

"The goal becomes education of all kinds for any person, not education of a pre-determined kind for one age range. Operating in this way, the institution can be pre-adapted to change. It learns to expect change."

(1979: 41)

In order to respond to the changing requirements of production and forms of employment, and, thus, a greater diversity of educational needs, forms and resources (Kirpal, 1976: 211), holistic education rejects the rigidly structured, formal and didactic model of education. It proposes instead a 'flexible system of options' and self-directed learning (Dave, 1976). Holistic education's ideology supports the 'vertical' integration of education, work and leisure situations through the recurrent provision of educational opportunities for training and re-training throughout the life-cycle and for all ages. The aim is not only to develop increasing flexibility in individual roles and self images and to move away from work-centred identities (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1981), but also to facilitate the creation of a flexible workforce, geared to adapt to the changing needs of production.

Although a wide spectrum of theorists of post-industrial society agree on many of these propositions concerning the qualitatively new individual freedom and choice (e.g., individual self-expression, self-regulation, flexibility and autonomy), there are disagreements concerning the social and political implications of these futurist scenarios. Certain Marxist theorists view the newfound freedom and choice as an illusion, regarding these merely as the ideological expression of a new form of social and political integration (consumerism) in which 'class-consciousness' is being replaced by commodity consciousness (Alt, 1976; Aronowitz, 1980). Other Durkheimian sociologists have suggested that the new values of post-industrial society represent not liberation, but a growing threat of anomie,

anonymity and 'homelessness' (Glasser, 1970; Berger et al, 1974).

The ideological development of holistic education has emerged in reaction to the latter scenario -the capitalist/consumer concept of man as an individualist, whose ties with the social order are based on material motivations, self-interest and competition with others (Schwarz, 1974; Suchodolski, 1976). Its ideology supports the educational development of a humanist/socialist portrait of man, as intrinsically 'social' and integrated, developing a sense of collective consciousness and whose relation to the social order is defined in active cooperation with others (Castle and Wustenberg, 1979; Skrimshire, 1981). This ideological image of man holds as central the contemporary concept of 'community of interests' (Stacey, 1969), a dynamic process of continually changing social relationships. 'Membership' and 'participation' provide the keys to the development of such a process (Plant, 1974), while apathy and indifference are seen as the 'enemies' of the process (Stacey, 1969).

It has been suggested throughout this analysis of the historical development of holistic education, that its ideology has frequently emerged in competition with the established ideology and forms of education and the socio-political order that it supports. For summary purposes, the salient features of these competing ideological models are outlined in Figure 2.1. in diagrammatic form. It illustrates the opposition between ideals and values which differentiate one 'education' from the other, while also pointing to some of the features shared by them. As McConnell (1977) has suggested, the dominant political ideology of industrialised society in Great

FIGURE 2.1.: IDEOLOGICAL MODELS OF COMPETING EDUCATIONS

	<u>ESTABLISHED EDUCATION</u>	<u>HOLISTIC EDUCATION</u>
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	Liberal Pluralism	Democratic Pluralism
PRESCRIPTIONS FOR EXISTING SOCIAL ORDER	Maintenance	Reform
CAUSES OF SOCIAL DISORDER	Individual deficiencies Institutional constraints	Institutional and attitudinal constraints
IDEALS OF SOCIAL ORDER	Individual achievement Freedom of individual Competition Individual morality Work-centred	Individual autonomy Egalitarianism Cooperation Collective responsibility Education-centred
DOMINANT SOCIAL VALUE	Work ethic	'Life ethic'
ORGANIZATIONAL IDEALS	Centralisation Expansion and fragmentation Standardisation Professionalism/specialism	Decentralisation/ central coordination Expansion and integration Flexibility Participatory democracy
CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL	Self-motivated Dependent consumer Routinized worker Resigned/accepting	Socially conscious Autonomous consumer Flexible worker/learner Critical/agent of change
AIMS OF EDUCATION	Control (direct) Socialisation (mass schooling) Adaptation	Control (indirect) Integration (lifelong learning) Adaptation and change

Britain, which acts to maintain the existing socio-political order, is termed 'liberal pluralism', while the emergent ideology, which seeks social reform and on which holistic education is based, is termed 'democratic pluralism'.

On the one hand, the changing material conditions and social transformations forecast for post-industrial society have contributed to the pressures for educational reform and the adoption of a 'lifelong' perspective. On the other hand, the ideology of 'freedom' and 'democracy' are inconsistent with the realities of the existing socio-political order and the individual's relation to it. This concept of ideology is similar to the traditional negative conception of ideology as an 'illusion', a distorted understanding of social reality (Larrain,1979:14). Faure (1972) brought attention to the contradiction evident between holistic education's ideological aims and the existing socio-political reality when he wrote:

"It is useless to expect a society based on the authority of a few and the obedience of the rest that it should develop an education of liberty. And how can one expect a society made up of privileges and discriminations to develop a democratic teaching system?" (Faure, 1972).

The challenge presented by the new educational ideology has been recognised by other contemporary proponents of holistic education. Schwarz questioned whether permanent education aims to revolutionise the existing socio-political order, or whether it merely intends to bring about reform and to implement adjustments in existing social relations and cultural values that the present 'closed' system of schooling reproduces, or fails to reproduce successfully (Schwarz, 1974: 20). Likewise, Dave (1976) and Vinokur (1976) both pointed to the opposition between the ideological expressions of lifelong

education and the established economic, social and educational order of contemporary capitalism when they wrote:

"The most widely accepted economic/educational models in capitalist societies offer no real role for lifelong education." (Dave, 1976: 363).

"...the existing 'social relations of production' provide a major obstacle to the true realisation of lifelong education. Indeed, lifelong education will become 'a new arena for social struggle' because it will require a 'classless society'" (Vinokur, 1976: 363).

It has been argued in this section of Chapter 2 that the historical development of holistic education is that of an ideology of 'change'. In this respect, in the late twentieth century it has appeared not only as opposed to the dominant ideology and form of school-based education, but also as an ideology that expresses the paradoxical intentions of adaptation/integration/control, as well as change/freedom/autonomy. In these ways, conflict and contradiction are expressed as central features of the ideology of holistic education.

2.3. HOLISTIC EDUCATION: A 'NEW' EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGY

"A wider and deeper meaning of education is being rediscovered... The new meaning is symbolised by the term lifelong education which includes formal, non-formal and informal patterns of learning throughout the lifecycle of an individual for the constant and continuous enhancement of the quality of life, his own and that of society." (Dave, 1976: 11)

'Holistic education' is an umbrella term that has been adopted in this study to denote the conceptually heterogeneous ideology that has grown up around a number of educational models which, like Dave's brief definition of lifelong education above, describe the 'total' perspective characteristic of 'holism'. The holistic model of education is becoming increasingly accepted amongst professional

educators as providing an appropriate educational framework for a post-industrial society and the period of radical social transformation that this entails. For example, it was stated that there is:

"...almost universal agreement that lifelong education is the principle of educational organisation best suited to the individual and collective needs of the immediate and more remote future." (Carelli, 1973: Foreword)

Similarly, a British 'community' adult educator took this as a primary assumption, but also pointed to its historical position peripheral to the formal education system:

"It is now increasingly recognised throughout western society and the Third World that, in an era of rapid social and economic change, education is a lifelong process which should not be confined to the relatively short period of formal education experienced by the majority of adults. This is something that adult educators and governments have always formally maintained even though, in practice, adult education has been denied the resources to provide a comprehensive education service, and in most countries has remained the poor relation of the education system." (Lovett, 1979: 103)

The term 'holistic education' refers to a 'total' idea of education - one which encompasses the entirety of educative influences that act on individuals from childhood to maturity, and the inter-relation of education with other cultural activities. Education is conceived as a lifelong process of learning accessible to all age groups, rather than confined to the early years of life and to institutions, such as schools, colleges and universities. Holistic education embraces a variety of educational forms (formal, non-formal and informal) and uses many other processes and patterns of learning besides the formal, didactic, professionally-directed methods of classroom teaching. The inter-relation of educational activities, both with each other and with other cultural activities, implies that 'education' should come to be defined as a universalistic and diffused cultural process.

Ultimately, the practice of education becomes a key social function at the heart of the idealised notion of the 'education-centred' or 'learning' society. In this way, the ideology of holistic education is opposed to conventional conceptualisations of education as a 'standardised, homogenised and centralised process' (Dave, 1976: 362)

Before the ideological content of holistic education is analysed, it is valuable to set out a revised and extended classification of the different models of holistic education in order to include the notion of 'community education', omitted in previous attempts at semantic definition (e.g., Tardy, 1970; Houghton and Richardson, 1974; Cohen, 1975; Johnson, 1981).

1. Permanent education originated as a French educational planning concept (l'education permanente) about which discussion began with Hartnung in 1966. It is a planning term mainly used by the Council of Europe (Schwarz, 1974) to denote the educational aim of 'refreshing', or keeping abreast with, current economic needs and productive trends so that the individual has the opportunity to remain up to date in terms of education and training.

2. Continuing and Adult Education are forms of post-compulsory educational provision in Great Britain that have the intended function of 'rounding off' the education of adults through the provision of 'second chance' opportunities for Further Education and re-training so that increased, or new, occupational and leisure skills can be learned (Venables Report, 1976; Burgess, 1977).

3. Lifelong education, or 'lifelong learning', are internationally

recognised terms used as a conceptual framework for the organisational principle of educational integration. It stresses the optimal use of all the educational programmes and services offered, not only by formal institutions and agencies, but also by non-formal and informal bodies sponsored by other sectors such as industry, churches, political parties, trade unions. The Organisation for Economic and Cultural Development funded a study of lifelong learning in 1973 as a conceptual background for proposals for a recurrent education system (C.E.R.I., 1973). This was followed by U.N.E.S.C.O.'s comprehensive theoretical analysis of lifelong education in 1976 (Dave, 1976); Seymour and Edmonds international perspective (1977); and, more recently, Gelpi's monograph (1979).

4. Recurrent education entered the international debate over education with the International Year of Education in 1970. This and the work sponsored by the OECD, UNESCO and the Council of Europe on lifelong education facilitated a more precise definition of terms and a discussion of policy implications. The envisaged function is to implement a 'lifelong' system of education, comprising discontinuous and periodic participation in educational and training programmes. It aims to break down gradually the existing division between school/education and working life.

5. Community education has the intended function of providing an integrated network of local-based educational, recreational and social opportunities for all age groups in a locality. It is seen by some to mark the 'starting point' of a recurrent education system in Great Britain (Flude and Parrot, 1979: 139). Community education has developed as a local authority service in Great Britain, often through

the combination of the previously separate Adult Education and Youth and Community Services which adopt an informal and community-based approach to learning. This development has arisen as a result of the recommendations of the Russel Report (1973) in England and Wales and the Alexander Report (1975) in Scotland, which gave official status to the innovative 'community' approach already in evidence within the Adult Education Service (Fairbairn, 1970; Ashcroft and Jackson, 1974; Stewart, 1976; Lawson, 1977; Corbett, 1978; Thompson, 1980). Lovett (1971) summarised this tendency in adult education when he wrote:

"Adult education must be seen as... an integral part of a whole series of activities which are community-based and concerned with the total community." (Lovett, 1971: 2)

In this section, the ideological continuity of the above models of holistic education is examined. But, first, it is necessary to point out their discontinuities. Although all these models advocate educational reforms, the extent and focus of change recommended varies. For example, 'permanent', 'continuing' and 'adult' education are concerned with the reform of post-compulsory education, and, thus, these models comprise an addition to the existing front-end model of education. In contrast, the contemporary notions of 'lifelong' and 'recurrent' education advocate the comprehensive integration of all educational services, including school education. In this way, they are generally regarded as an alternatives to the established school-based education system. Community education is an anomaly in this dichotomous classification of holistic education: Its ideals stress the importance of the integration of all educational resources and opportunities in the locality. Yet, in practice, in Scotland for example, community education has been implemented as a revised form of

the Adult Education service, and as such, has made little impact on the formal system of schooling provision, with the exception of the introduction of community schools by some local education authorities.

It is possible to identify three distinct dimensions running through the above models of holistic education, giving them ideological continuity:

i) Vertical: Education is viewed as a process occurring throughout life, from pre-school to post-retirement ages. It is a 'cradle-to-grave' experience.

ii) Horizontal: Education should be inter-fused with the many aspects of material and cultural activities (e.g. work, family, leisure, politics and community activities) and other forms of social provision.

iii) Contextual: Education should be grounded in its socio-cultural context to ensure that learning is 'relevant' to the needs and circumstances of individual learners.

The vertical and horizontal dimensions are usually acknowledged in the literature on community, lifelong and recurrent education, and are usually expressed in terms of educational needs arising continually throughout the 'length' and 'breadth' of life (Seay, 1974: 13; Flude and Parrot, 1979: 14). However, by including community education in the concept of holistic education, these two dimensions in themselves are inadequate, given the frequent references by community educators to the learning process being 'linked' to , or 'grounded' in, the local socio-cultural context. Therefore, a third 'contextual'

dimension has been included to take account of this idea.

The models of holistic education outlined above do not all embrace these three dimensions. For example, the minimal concepts of permanent and continuing education include only the temporal notion of the vertical dimension, while community education is the most strongly allied with the contextual dimension. However, all three conceptual dimensions are incorporated into the inclusive ideology of holistic education.

An analysis of the ideological content of holistic education follows in which each of the above three dimensions are examined in turn and the rhetoric and terminology applied in each are considered. In this way, it is hoped to provide a clearer understanding of the aims and motives underlying the ideology of of holistic education.

2.3.1. The Vertical Dimension.

The vertical dimension of holistic education's ideology expresses the idea of the temporal continuity of education. In times of major socio-economic transformations, the relation of the individual to the social order also requires adjustment. Thus, a belief has tended to be expressed in the necessity for education and training, as an important adaptive mechanism, should become a 'total' process affecting all age groups and available at all stages of the life-cycle. This is a central principle in Schwarz's concept of permanent education (Schwarz, 1974), but is also found in all the models of holistic

education.

Related to this adjustment process, is the need for a change in attitudes to education in order to develop the motivations conducive to learning throughout life, at any age (Cropley, 1976). Age is no longer considered an appropriate criterion upon which educational provision should be determined, or educational resources allocated:

"It would be the most natural thing in the world for anyone to start learning anything at any age, and while a person's age might provide some guidance as to how he or she might be taught, it would not be a condition of whether he or she would be taught." (Flude and Parrot, 1979: 14)

The conventional equation of education with schooling, a short compulsory period in early life, has been challenged by proponents of holistic education as 'a major national weakness and lack of insight' (Flude and Parrot, 1979), and the school's traditional function of educating 'once and for all' has been refuted (Schwarz, 1974: 33). In this way, the educational reformer of the 1920s and 1930s, Henry Morris, rejected the youth-dominated concept of education in his development of an 'organic' system of village colleges in rural Cambridgeshire, which catered for all age groups in the local area.

"At the present moment our state system of education is concerned almost wholly with children and the teachers of children. We ought to see our way to the organic provision of education for the whole adult community. We must do away with the insulated school. We must organise the educational buildings of the towns and countryside so that the schools of the young are organically related to , or form part of, the institutions in which the ultimate goals of education are realised. " (Morris, 1926)

Frequently linked to holistic educators' criticisms of a school-dominated education system is the belief that educational resources should be re-distributed to allow for the provision of educational opportunities for all ages over the whole lifespan. Thus, a further

challenge brought against the existing front-end model of education is focused on the school as the central recipient of resources.

Community schools represent an institutional form of community education ,or as Kirkwood expressed it, "the effect of the idea on the formal system of schooling." (1979:57). Community educators reject the organisation of education around age-segregated activities, courses or classes for the idea of age-integration in educational experiences. Similarly, environmental educators have stressed the educational value of having a mixture of age groups taking part in projects and of involving the whole community in learning experiences, rather than just children (Ward, 1977).

The idea of education for all ages and the extension of educational opportunities beyond the age of compulsory schooling is also embraced in the models of 'continuing' and 'adult education'. They view the provision of post-compulsory education as a 'second chance' for adults, or 'compensation' for earlier omissions or failures. The institution of the school is not criticised . Instead, continuing/adult education seeks to supplement it and thus compensate for the imbalance in the distribution of its resources. Yet, in common with holistic education's ideology, the idea is expressed that it is impossible to 'receive' all the education needed in life during the compulsory period of schooling. Continuing and adult education envisage 'education for all ages' as an aim that can be implemented within the existing system through the separate provision of full-time compulsory schooling in the early years of the lifespan, supplemented thereafter by voluntary forms of educational provision in adult life.

The vertical dimension of holistic education is, therefore, interpreted in two ways, depending on whether the existing system of schooling remains separate from, or becomes integrated with, all other forms of education. The more radical lifelong model of holistic education expresses a belief in the complete transformation of the present segmental pattern of education, work and leisure within the life-cycle in industrialised societies, which divides 'the school phase', 'the working phase' and 'the retirement phase' (Best and Stern, 1978). Janne (1976) suggested that these three distinct stages would be broken down primarily through a lifelong education system and its new "time-free" and "space-free" characteristics, so that learning, work and leisure would be continuously interwoven dimensions of the life-cycle:

"From the age of discretion to senility the life of an individual will thus evolve along a continuum where study, work, leisure, responsible decision making will at all times be present, any one of these preponderating temporarily and largely irrespective of age. Assisted self-learning, changing vocational activities, creative expression in leisure time, participation in decentralised democratic decision-making procedures (orientation) - these will characterise the human condition in a society whose educational system is based on lifelong education." (Janne, 1976: 175)

The vertical dimension of holistic education's ideology, with its focus on the temporal decentralisation of educational opportunities, has emphasised two main arguments:

- i) That the present division between compulsory school education (youth) and other forms of non-statutory educational provision (adults) should be broken down to form a comprehensive network of educational services for all ages.
- ii) That the present distinction between education (school), work and

leisure as activities vertically separated in the life-cycle, should gradually become interwoven dimensions, integrated throughout the lifespan.

2.3.2. The Horizontal Dimension.

The horizontal dimension of holistic education's ideology expresses the idea of the spatial diffusion and integration of education. At times when the forms of production are undergoing transformation and the social organisation of labour is gradually changing, the belief has been expressed that education would be more effective in developing human potential and motivation, if it increased its penetration into the different aspects of socio-cultural life. This idea is usually expressed by exponents of holistic education in terms of the arguments that:

- i) Education should be inter-related with other forms of social provision.
- ii) The integration of existing resources and services in a local area is economically beneficial.
- iii) The educational value of the ubiquitous socio-cultural influences in everyday life (e.g. leisure, art, politics, language) is optimised.

The interrelation of education with other forms of social provision was expressed in Midwinter's notion of community education (1975). He argued that education, like health, is a perpetual human condition continually interacting with, and informed by, other elements of the

social environment:

"Education, together with other forms of social outlay, forms an intricate mesh of social provision... The chief lesson is the inter-dependability of all forms of social provision... It is important to see education in a total sense, as a dimension with which, knowing or unknowing, we are in constant communication. One has obviously some sort of health perpetually... similarly, education should be seen not as something one did, but as something one is, like health." (Midwinter, 1975: 14 - 15)

Enthusiasm in political circles for the economic rationale of holistic education (i.e., the maximisation of existing public resources through the integrated and coordinated planning and provision of local services) was a feature of the 'community approach' to social policy developed in the late 1960s. Of particular relevance to the development of community education as a local authority service was the Seeborn Report (1968) on local authority social services, and the Scottish Education Department Report (1968) and the Fairbairn and Milson Report (1969) on Youth and Community Work in Scotland and England and Wales respectively. The Alexander Report (1975) on Adult Education in Scotland continued this community approach in its recommendations for the development of a comprehensive community education service for all ages. It stated that:

"Social, cultural, recreational and educational activities for adults are so inter-related that any attempt to distinguish between them, or to deal with one without regard to the others, would be undesirable, even if this were possible" (HMSO, 1975: 1).

The attraction of this dimension of holistic education to local education authorities can be seen in the integrated or joint provision of educational and recreational services and facilities in community schools/colleges in Great Britain. Here, a range of social provision fundamental to urban life (e.g., school, sports facilities, library, cafeteria, meeting rooms, workshops, community facilities) are

incorporated within a single campus or set of buildings.

Underlying the idea of the integration of services is the principle of 'organic unities' which, as noted earlier, is central to the philosophy of 'holism'. This analogy signifies the tendency of this form of educational provision towards cultural 'synthesis'. It is illustrated below in Flude and Parrot's concept of the community school, Henry Morris' model of the village college, and Gilroy's view of community education:

"Underlying the development of the community education theme is a belief that by integrating the separate components of an institution the whole will become greater than the sum of the parts. By tying together the secondary school, the adult education centre, informal youth provision, and the community users, the activities of each of these four aspects will be enriched." (Flude and Parrot, 1979:133-4)

"It (the village college) would take all the various vital but isolated activities in village life... and bringing them together into relation, create a new institution for the English countryside. It would create out of discrete elements an organic whole; the vitality of the constituent elements would be preserved and not destroyed, but the unity they would form would be a new thing. For, as in the case of all organic unities, the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. It would be a true social synthesis - it would take existing and live elements and bring them into a new unique relationship." (Morris, 1925: paragraph XIV)

"Indeed, one might go further to say that the whole is greater than the sum of its constituent parts, community education is not Youth and Community Work and Adult Education. It is a style of education, a social philosophy." (Gilroy, 1976: 8)

Another aspect of integration, or cultural synthesis, in the horizontal dimension of holistic education is the aim to break down conventional, hierarchical classifications, or divisions between, subjects, activities and modes of teaching and educational development (Kirpal, 1976:100; Sukhomlinsky, 1971). This is attempted through, for example, an integrated curriculum (Ingram, 1979). Flude and Parrot (1979) assert the importance of this in a recurrent education system

which would attempt "to cut across existing educational barriers and into areas of life where the usefulness of educational provision has either been unrecognised or ignored." (1979: 14). This aspect of integration is seen as an important step in the process of 'demystifying' and redefining education as an informal and everyday activity in order to attract much greater participation (Haworth, 1979; ACSOC, 1979). For example, the cultural integration of education with leisure implies that recreational pursuits should come to be seen as educational, while education should be seen as pleasurable and voluntary. This idea is found in the Planning Sub-Committee of the Association of Community Schools, Colleges and Centres (ACSOC):

"By merging the pursuit of knowledge, the practice of crafts and the creative arts, and the development of sports and physical enterprise, we can return the word re-creation to its original meaning." (ACSOC, 1979, 14th June)

The horizontal expansion and inter-penetration of education with many other aspects of socio-cultural life is based on the assumption that these other everyday situations and influences can make an important contribution to education, and thereby enhance the collective quality of life. This idealist notion of the positive interrelationship between education and collective social life is expressed as a long-term aim of lifelong education:

"... it works towards a world in which education plays a more meaningful part in peoples lives and, as a corollary, a world in which lives are made more meaningful through education". (Flude and Parrot, 1979: 14)

The final aspect of the horizontal dimension of holistic education's ideology relates to the idealist conceptions of social organisation, or 'community'. The notion of cultural 'synthesis' indicates a residual and consensus concept of community. The aim of holistic

education is to break down traditional cultural divisions, both locally and internationally, through the development of social relationships based on common activities and interests. This indicates an idealist belief in the toleration of 'differences' and the 'containment' of conflict. In other words, the ideal of 'unity in diversity' in a pluralist society. This is clearly expressed by the ACSCC in relation to community education and by Edmonds in a Presidential Address to a world conference on lifelong education:

"A multitude of interests are catered for, some of them shared among like-minded, some tolerated. In this way, generation clashes among social classes can be contained and begin to wither away. Thus, without destroying the individual character either of groups or activities, a creative corporate life is developed and kept alive while education is reinforced and expanded." (ACSCC, 1979)

"As it is in men's hearts that wars begin, so too with peace; and it is only by linking peace education with lifelong learning that we can hope to change attitudes between individuals, between groups of people, between nations...Constant practise is essential in learning to tolerate differences of opinion, with a recognition at times that in some cases we may never reach agreement and must simply agree to disagree without being disagreeable in the process" (Seymour and Edmonds, 1978:4-5).

In this way, the concept of a 'community of interests' relates holistic education to the development of cultural integration and ideological consensus in a pluralist society as a way of containing antagonisms between different nations, groups, classes and ages. This contemporary concept of community is based on 'participation' in, and 'membership' of, a common interest group (Simpson, 1970; Ashcroft, 1973). It has been argued that the growth, decline and re-emergence of relationships based on 'common interests' involve only a minority of the population at any one time, and are, therefore, not necessarily 'altruistic' or 'friendly' as in the traditional organic community (Skrimshire, 1981: 54). The educational development of this

partial and changing community of interests has been optimistically described as 'a self-generating process' once started (OECD, 1975; Nisbet et al, 1980). This is what is termed by community educators as the 'snowball effect':

"... members of a neighbourhood being brought together by activities which they themselves organise or take part in, develop a collective consciousness, and, following on this, a will to self-government and independence. Further activities and ideas are taken up and tried out, either within or outside the provided institution. These then affect a widening circle of neighbours who in turn become affected by the original and originating spirit." (ACSOC, 1979)

In this way, the ideology of holistic education assumes that increasing local involvement, collective responsibility, autonomy and self-government are inevitable outcomes of participation in learning (Von Molkte, 1973).

In the horizontal dimension of holistic education's ideology, the spatial diffusion and integration of education is argued for in two principal ways:

- i) The redefinition of education as a process that cuts across traditional cultural divisions and activity/subject boundaries and is an integral part of the many different spheres of socio-cultural life. Accordingly, educational services should be interrelated and coordinated with other forms of social provision.
- ii) The adjustment and integration of the individual within a changing and pluralist social order through the educational development of a 'community of interests'.

2.3.3. The Contextual Dimension.

"Properly understood, education is the social organisation of human learning, this learning being itself a reflexive process involving the individual psyche in relationship with the surrounding natural environment." (Holly, 1971: 72)

Holly's concept of education is valuable here in illustrating the basis of the contextual dimension of holistic education, i.e., that the understanding of the interrelationship between the individual and his social setting is assisted through educational experiences in that setting. Thus, proponents of holistic education have argued for the grounding of education within its socio-cultural context. In a period of rapid social and economic transformation, the need for education to become more responsive to changing forms of production and social conditions is seen as a critical objective. Thus, the closer linking of education to the outside world is regarded as making learning experiences more 'relevant' to the circumstances of individuals' lives and as facilitating the transformation of skills, values, attitudes, expectations and lifestyles (Vinokur, 1976).

Closely allied to this idea of relevant education is the opening up of educational institutions, particularly the school, to the external community, moving away from its traditional isolation. This is what Janne referred to as 'learning where knowledge is produced' (1976: 174). This aim is expressed in the reflexive school-community relationship which is a central feature of the village college, community college and community school. Both Henry Morris (1926) and John Dewey (1916) stressed the political significance of developing a closer interrelationship between education/school and community in their belief that education should provide a platform for the

generation of participatory democracy. In Morris' words:

"Education becomes not merely a consequence of good government. Good government becomes a consequence of education." (Morris, 1926)

The political aims underlying the emphasis in holistic education on a close relationship between education/school and the 'needs' of the community can be seen as the formulation of a more effective, or 'meaningful', strategy of maintaining ideological consensus, integration and adaptation in a period of social change.

The contextual dimension is frequently expressed in arguments that are based on a critique of the isolated nature of schooling, where, typically, educational experiences are confined within the institution. For example, Midwinter's conception of EPA community education stressed the need for the education of children to be grounded within a much wider socio-cultural context than the school itself:

"...children learn all the time and from all sources and... what traditionally has been regarded as 'educational' (that is, the academic element of the school) is but a part of this. The social context in which schooling occurs is more important than the school apropos... the school itself. Because of the totality of a child's experience... contributes to the manner and quality of his achievement in school, the school is often no more than the agent of affirmation." (Midwinter, 1975: 11)

Like other supporters of holistic education, Midwinter realized the ineffectiveness of education in the institutional form of schools, especially in deprived, working class areas. Consequently, he advocated an approach which embraced the 'totality' of children's experience and was grounded in their own familiar 'culture'. For this reason, community education has been criticised for its environmental and cultural determinism. By using the local cultural environment as a

resource and context from which to derive 'relevant' learning experiences, it was hoped that the students and teachers would become increasingly 'conscious' of their local community and its problems, and, thence, realize a need to make change within it (Lovett, 1975).

Environmental education is also founded upon this contextual dimension through its use of the urban environment as a learning structure. This was affirmed in the Advisory Committee's recommendations published in a recent report by the Department of the Environment:

"Urban environmental education should help people perceive, understand, analyse, and finally improve their built environment. It should be centrally concerned with aiding people to participate more effectively in shaping their local environment." (in Fyson, 1980:21)

The ability to 'shape', or to effect change in, local conditions through learning as a contextualized activity is indicative of a belief in education as an agent of change, in addition to its function of facilitating adjustment and integration in the wider process of social change. Thus, the Council of Europe stated that:

"The aim of permanent education is to make every person better able to understand the technical, social and cultural world that surrounds him and to become independent, that is, able to find his own place in his environment and to influence it for it is by understanding the interplay between the development of society and his own, that a person can become in a real sense an agent of change." (Council of Europe, 1973: 61)

The individual's ability to effect qualitative change in local conditions is linked closely to the educational development of 'autonomy'. In Ward's terms, this personal quality marks the difference between 'people who are masters of their lives, and people to whom things just happen' (1979: 624). Attempts to define this aspect of educational development were made in the Alexander Report (1975) where it was referred to as 'the reaffirmation of

individuality' in which:

'...education enables man to increase his understanding of his own nature, to develop to the full his potentialities and to participate in the shaping of his own future (1975: 35).

The Rapoport (1975) defined a similar notion to 'autonomy' in the concept of 'resourcefulness', meaning:

"...knowing and being able to make a meaningful life for oneself within the realities of one's existence as well as how to change those realities. So it requires being in touch with one's feelings on the one side, and one's environment on the other, and being able to manage the two in relation to each other." (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975)

Again, education is seen as the mediating and balancing process whereby the integration of the individual within the social order is facilitated and an awareness, or 'consciousness', of his power to effect change within it is developed. It is questionable whether the educational development of 'autonomy' aims to enable the individual to effect real challenge to the social order itself, or whether it aims merely to assist the individual in adapting to a wider process of social change. A number of critiques of the 'community' approach argue that such local-based strategies represent a way of diverting action away from more fundamental politico-economic problems which are not of local origin (Cheetham and Hill, 1973; Smith, Lees and Topping, 1977).

In general, holistic education supports the consensus approach and tends to focus 'social change on purely local issues and on common interests in those issues' (Jackson, 1977). However, some community/adult educators have adopted a more politicised conflict approach to the idea of 'change' through education. These two different approaches to 'change' through education have become incorporated within the ideology of holistic education.

The contextual dimension of holistic education's ideology primarily expresses this contradiction: On the one hand, education is regarded as an important agent of adjustment and integration in a changing society, reinforcing the individual's relation to the social order (control). On the other hand, education is seen as a potential force of 'change', focusing on the individual's power to 'shape' and precipitate changes in his social conditions, or even in the social order itself. In this way, Westwood (1980) argued that adult education can perform paradoxical social functions:

"...it can be seen to have a much clearer role in maintaining the status quo, engendering a state of consensus and contributing positively to the mechanisms whereby hegemony is maintained. However, it is also in the position to mount a challenge to the accepted view of the world, at a minimum to question this legitimacy' (Westwood, 1980:43).

This paradox is central to the ideology of holistic education and is discussed more fully in section 2.5. But, first, it is important to examine the role of the community school in holistic education in order to understand the significance of the community school in this form of educational provision.

2.4. THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL: A 'FRONT LINE' INSTITUTION OF HOLISTIC EDUCATION

The transformation of the traditional school institution is central to holistic education's ideology and its challenge to the established 'front end' model of education in industrialised societies. For example, the professional body, the Institute of Community Education (ICE), stressed the implications of this new educational ideology for

schooling:

"The role of the school undergoes a radical reinterpretation under this alternative model which requires a gradual reorientation of policy and the establishment of new relationships." (ICE, 1979: 6)

There are arguments within holistic education's ideology that support the reform of the existing education system, where schools predominate in terms of the allocation of resources and the reproduction of labour, skills, and dominant cultural values, to one where the the reproductive and socialisation roles of education, traditionally focused on the spatial concept of a 'school', become more diffused:

"School education will teach the young person to educate himself by means extraneous to the school and will itself lead him to assume independence. The school will no longer have exclusive monopoly of education, and studies will no longer be confined within a particular place known as 'school'" (Janne and Roggemans, 1971).

Although the formal concepts of 'school' and 'classrooms' continue to be used in the various models of holistic education , the inappropriateness of such terminology has often been stated. For example, Schwarz concluded that 'the classroom to education is what the post-chaise is to modern transport vehicles: an inadequate and outmoded institution' (1974: 49). However, these supporters of holistic education are careful to avoid subscription to the 'deschoolers' total negation of the school as an educational form (Illich, 1971; Buckman, 1973; Reimer, 1971). It has been argued that within this educational philosophy there is little evidence of the redefinition of schooling in terms of its ideological functions within the social order (Brewster and Whiteford, 1978/9).

The pace at which any reforms in schooling are likely to occur is generally viewed with pessimism owing to the inertia of the existing

educational apparatus (Schwarz, 1974; Janne, 1976; Flude and Parrot, 1979; Wilson, 1981):

"When Donald Schon wrote about institutions as 'memorials to past problems' and their 'dynamic conservatism' by which the struggle to retain their shape even when their original function has disappeared, he might have had secondary schools in mind." (Flude and Parrot, 1979: 78 - 9)

It was Flude and Parrot who referred to the contemporary community school as a 'front-line institution' in the development of a recurrent education system in Great Britain (1979: 133- 140). This proposal was based on the argument that community schools represent 'the major attempt so far to introduce a flexible education service able to cope with change' (1979: 134). The belief that the community school is a 'foundation stone' for future educational development has also been expressed by practitioners working in the field of youth work. For example:

"The school of the future - not that one can sit down and paint its portrait - will certainly be a community school. It will provide more and more flexible learning opportunities for all children, young people and adults. Boundaries between types of education will merge and unity based on the needs of the community will be at least a possibility. The community school in concept and practice helps to map the future." (Harvey, 1971)

Indeed, the contemporary idea of the community school is parallel to the notion of a 'school' in holistic education's ideology: The school is envisaged as a multi-faceted local 'education centre' (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1980: 30) which 'services' the 'needs' of the local area - whether catchment area (Flude and Parrot, 1979) or 'educational district' (Schwarz, 1974; Janne, 1976) - and which is 'flexible' in its response to changing local demand (Flude and Parrot, 1979: 134). It is an institution that is 'open' to participation by all age groups, and adopts the informal methods of 'open learning' (Schwarz,

1974: 21 & 40; Strathclyde Regional Council, 1980: 31). The teacher becomes a non-centre based 'outreach' worker (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1980: 31), performing the multiple roles of counsellor, adviser, animateur and coordinator (Dave, 1976: 375 - 6). The school is linked into an integrated network of local social provision, acting in 'partnership' with other agencies, services and opportunities in the area, so that it becomes a 'local access point' into a decentralised and diffuse network of education (Schwarz, 1974: 21; Flude and Parrot, 1979: 129).

In section 2.2. of this Chapter, the historical development of the educational ideology underlying the contemporary community school movement was examined in relation to the changing socio-economic conditions implicit in the thesis of post-industrial society. To summarise, the contemporary concept of a community school is derived historically from the following educational developments:

- i) The educational ideals and terminology of Henry Morris' model of the 'village college' (neighbourhood community centre, educative society).
- ii) The 'community college' movement (joint school-community provision).
- iii) The 'community' approach to social planning and provision (community participation, community development, inter-service cooperation).
- iv) The area-based EPA community education projects (positive discrimination, education for the 'disadvantaged').
- v) Lifelong, recurrent, permanent, continuing and community models of holistic education (expansion, integration, decentralization,

flexibility, autonomy)

From a review of the literature (e.g. Greenblatt, 1971; Poster, 1971 & 1976; Thorpe, 1973; Hatch and Moylan, 1973; McPhillamy, 1976; Bodman, 1977; Jones, 1978; Kirkwood, 1979; Nisbet et al, 1980; Skrimshire, 1981), the characteristic features of the contemporary community school concept can be summarised in the following five categories, although all five may not be evident simultaneously in any actual community school. These categories aim to illustrate the anachronistic position of the community school as an educational institution that must perform its traditional and statutory functions as a secondary school, while also attempting to implement the ideals, aims of holistic education.

1. Vertical Dimension.

The community school is concerned with creating a programme for the complete age range of its local catchment population and involving the whole family. This task may be achieved through the development of strong home-school links, parental participation in school activities, or the more general involvement of adults in the affairs and activities of the school.

2. Horizontal Dimension.

The school's programme embraces a wide range of educational, training, recreational and social activities. In this way, the educational process becomes integrated with other aspects of local socio-cultural life in an attempt to increase the efficiency of school and adult education and the use of the local school as a community facility.

This aim may be achieved through the development of a 'community curriculum', and/or joint/integrated provision for the school and the community. The breaking down of the hierarchical distinction between 'academic' and 'practical' skills is attempted, and formal structured learning (e.g., classes and courses) is combined with an informal approach (e.g., learning through participation).

3. Contextual Dimension.

The school is the 'community centre of the neighbourhood' (Watson Bowen, 1973) serving the educational and recreational 'needs' of the local population as a major component of local statutory and voluntary social provision. In this way, a coordinated network of cultural provision, focused on the multi-purpose community school, may be developed. The community school is the focal point of a social group, or 'community of interests', where often the only common nexus of the group is the relationship to the school itself.

4. 'Control' Function.

Accountability to the local population is central to the school's need to secure local support and be responsive to changing local needs in order to legitimise its role as a 'community' school. 'Community control' has been developed only in the form of local 'participation' in school governing and management bodies. In this way, the community school is a socio-political 'training ground' for participatory democracy and collective responsibility (Dickson, 1977) .

5. 'Change' Function.

The school is concerned with, and interacts with, the social relationships and cultural processes that exist within the local

community and it aims to effect 'change' within it through the promotion of 'participation' and 'membership'. As an integral part of the established education system, the community school's function of 'change' is limited to the de-politicised sense of individual and community development (adaptation and integration) . Its 'consensus-participation' role in community development (Ashcroft, 1975) is usually expressed through the school's involvement with, or the development of, local educational, recreational and political groups (e.g., clubs, learning exchange groups, action groups, tenants associations).

It has been common practice in research studies of community schools to separate the components of the model in this way for the purposes of classification (Smith and Smith, 1974: 4 - 5; Jones, 1978: 3 - 4; Kirkwood, 1979: 45; Nisbet et al, 1980: 98 - 9; Skrimshire, 1981: 55 - 8). However, it is important to stress that these elements are part of a dynamic process, and 'commitment to one of them tends to lead to the development of another' (Nisbet et al, 1980: 99). For this reason, they are sometimes presented in the form of a continuum, e.g. from 'marginal' to 'radical' reform (Nisbet et al, 1980) or from 'school-centred' to 'community-centred' development (Skrimshire, 1981).

The community school has developed , not only as a response to pressures for reforms in schooling in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but also as a further expression of the inter-penetration of education with other aspects of socio-cultural life, usually referred to in terms of the need for a closer relationship between school and community. However, these historical developments have also found more general expression within the established education system in the

development of the 'neighbourhood comprehensive school' and the joint provision and use of school and community facilities.

The gradual appearance and growing acceptance of the neighbourhood comprehensive school in the late 1960s developed from the intra-professional debate over reforms in the school's organisation, curricula and relationship with the surrounding community, and as a reaction against the traditional isolation of schools from the outside world (Lindsay, 1970; Jones, 1978; Wilby, 1979; Headteachers Association of Scotland, 1979). In a survey of British comprehensive schools in 1968, Benn and Simon concluded that 'many staff and many of the secondary pupils cannot conceive of 'education' as a process that does not include discussion of, and work in and for, the local community.' (1970: 344). The post-war development of the community college - defined as a secondary school which interprets the school-community relationship mainly in terms of the dual- or integrated-use of its premises with the general public (Jones, 1978: 8) - shows a tendency to make 'purely tactical use' of its 'community' label (Skrimshire, 1981: 57). Dual-use schools are not necessarily concerned with local people as members of social groups, but more as 'users' of the facilities (Social and Community Planning Research, 1977; Murphy and Veal, 1977). The incorporation of this contradictory economic motive within the contemporary community school concept has shown both historical and ideological tensions (Skrimshire, 1981: 60 - 63). It is important, therefore, to distinguish between the historical development of the school-community relationship within the formal system of education, and its historical development and expression within the ideology of holistic education and the community school

movement.

The centrality of the school-community relationship to the community school and community education is discussed in relation to the wider process of social change and educational development in Chapter 3.

2.5. THE CENTRAL CONTRADICTION IN HOLISTIC EDUCATION'S IDEOLOGY

A number of writers have remarked upon the fundamental contradiction (control and change) in the model of lifelong education (Janne, 1976; Vinokur, 1976), in community education (Lovett, 1979; Maclean and Martin, 1979) and in community schooling (Brewster and Whiteford, 1978/9), but there has been little attempt to analyse or understand this paradox. Following the arguments put forward by Coalter and Parry (1982), Duffield (1982) and Long (1981) in relation to leisure, in this section the central contradiction of 'freedom' and 'constraint' in the ideology of holistic education is examined and related to its historical development. Through this analysis, a preliminary assessment is made of the claims that this model of education provides a platform for radical social change. The issue is discussed further in the following Chapter.

It is argued here that the contradictions inherent in the ideology of holistic education stem from the attempt to integrate opposing approaches to education within a single system of educational provision. While the established front-end model of school-based education is said to be a standardised, homogeneous, centralized and compulsory form of provision (Dave, 1976:362) and characterised

sociologically in terms of its socialisation, reproductive and control functions (see Chapter 3.2.), the holistic models of education are said to differ because of the diversity of forms of provision, the voluntary nature of participation and their aims to promote change, freedom, individualism and autonomy through education.

In this Chapter it has been argued that the socio-economic changes occurring in the late twentieth century provide the historical and material foundation for the emergence of holistic education's ideology. The current problems of education are, thus, symptomatic of the problems of social change. Accordingly, the view is often expressed that holistic education is not only a product of social change, but can also be an agent of social change. (e.g. Dewey, 1916; Morris, 1926; Midwinter, 1975; Beasley, 1980; Wilson, 1981). The present uncertainty of the possible implementation of the principles of holistic education as the basis of future educational provision has permitted its utilisation in discourse as an educational metaphor for projected wider social transformations, engendered in the thesis of post-industrial society. The increasing acceptance of the ideological aspects of lifelong, recurrent and community education are often taken as indicative of a wider liberalisation of society and the humanisation of social life and interpersonal relationships within it.

In general, amongst these educational reformers the basic premise in their liberal ideology of holistic education is that education will create and sustain 'progressive' social change. This view of the relationship between education and social change is usually translated in terms of a reformist strategy of raising the general educational level of the population through a closer linking of post-compulsory

education and the needs of production. Education is regarded as a critical factor affecting economic growth and social progress. This approach advocates adjustment and reform in the existing education system rather than challenge or revolutionary change in the established educational and socio-political order. As this extract from Flude and Parrot indicates, struggles for educational reform are envisaged as 'consciousness-raising' within politico-professional circles, rather than as disruptive to the existing order of things:

"The need is not to overturn the existing education system but to build upon it. Extensive and even radical reforms in the education system could be brought about with minimum disruption if sufficient numbers of teachers and policy-makers in all fields of education were made aware of these new contexts for their work which are implicit in the recurrent education idea." (Flude and Parrot, 1979: 102).

This approach is indicative of an evolutionist perspective of social change. This idea of educational reform portrays the idealism of liberalism which projects that the consequent progressive social/educational changes will allow individuals greater diversity, freedom and choice which in turn will inform many other aspects of socio-cultural life. Owing to its roots in adult education, closely bound up with the ideology of holistic education is the liberal ideology of individualism and freedom (Keddie, 1980). This form of ideology was analysed by Althusser to show how the real relations of class domination and power are concealed in the ideological expressions, or discourse, of the bourgeoisie:

"In the ideology of freedom, the bourgeoisie live in a direct fashion its relations to its conditions of existence: that is to say, its real relation (the law of the liberal capitalist economy), but incorporated in the imaginary relation (all men are free, including free workers). Its ideology consists in the word-play about freedom, which betrays just as much the bourgeois will to mystify those it exploits (free!) in order to keep them in harness, by bondage to freedom as the need of the bourgeoisie to live its class domination as the freedom of the exploited." (Althusser, 1977:234-5)

The question of whether, and to what extent, holistic education can, in practice, become an agent of freedom and change has been controversial. There are some educationalists who have advocated a radical, or conflict, approach to working class community and adult education based on collective political action, the development of intellectuals 'organic' to the working class and raising 'consciousness' (Gramsci, 1971; Friere, 1972; Jackson, 1976; McConnell, 1977; Lovett, 1980). Other adult educators have adopted a consensus-participation approach to community education based on the dissemination of established values, the provision of a core curriculum and through community development activities aimed at improving the 'quality of life' (e.g. Alexander Report, 1975; Council of Europe, 1974). Within the latter approach, Mee and Wiltshire (1978:110) identified a remarkable uniformity in provision.

Criticisms of the latter approach to 'change', defined in this sense as adaptation and integration, are similar to those aimed at the 'community' approach to social provision (Cheetham and Hill, 1973; Smith, Lees and Topping, 1977) and are founded upon the neglect of the politico-economic basis of social problems of inequality and the deflection of political action into the purely 'educational' issues of individual development (Lovett, 1979).

The politicised conflict approach is founded upon an analysis of society which regards the transformation of the social division of labour as a prerequisite to the implementation of 'true' holistic education. Educational change is equated with revolutionary social change and political action. In this view, education should not be based on existing work/leisure situations; rather, work/leisure

situations must be transformed to comprise educational experiences (Vinokur, 1976). This involves the socialist vision of an 'educative society' which comprises:

"... situations in which, individually and collectively, (men) can shape their way of living and working, their environment and their tools as they best see fit in their community's interest; in such situations, the separation between working and learning becomes impossible; you keep learning because of what you want to do, and you keep doing new things because of what you learn." (Gorz, 1974).

Attempts by professional practitioners to tackle the political nature of community education were illustrated in Jackson's (1976) and McConnell's (1979) reports on the Strone and Maukinhill Informal Education Project (SMIEP) in Greenock, Glasgow. The 'educational' role of the project was, in practice, intertwined with the social and political aims of collective action and 'consciousness raising' (i.e., increasing the degree of penetration that people have of the structural conditions of their actions):

"SMIEP does not see itself as an educational project, although this is and will be its main function, but also as a coordinating project working with the various activists within the area and for the people in the area in any capacity, educational or otherwise, which will bring people together. Though education is our first concern, it is our duty to try and awaken the tenants to their communal responsibilities, i.e. to their responsibilities to break down the barriers of apathy, resistance to change and poverty." (McConnell, 1979: 17)

Other examples of such politicised community education projects in practice (e.g. Ashcroft and Jackson, 1974; Lovett, 1975) are scarce. It is an approach that is more often expressed in idealist discussions of educational change that are couched in ideology (Illich, 1971; Friere, 1972) or in purely theoretical analyses of holistic education (Janne, 1976; Vinokur, 1976; Gorz, 1974; Westwood, 1980). Brewster (1977) suggests that the major proportion of community education projects provide adult education programmes based on the consensus-

participation approach to 'change' which aims to develop a more effective and flexible educational service and to provide greater professional 'support', or control, in community development activities.

In order to understand how the ideology of holistic education, in particular its emphasis on change, freedom and individualism, might operate in the interests of dominant groups in a class society, it is useful to refer to Giddens' discussion of the denial, or transmutation, of contradictions (1979:193-6). He argues that it is usually in the interests of dominant groups to deny or obscure the existence or location of contradictions. One of the main features of political ideology, then, is to perpetuate the distinction between 'political' and 'economic' domains in order to disguise the location of the primary contradiction of capitalism. Applying this argument to education, ideology serves to disguise the existence of system contradictions and to maintain the separation between the 'educational' and the 'political' arena. The 'educational' is supposed ideologically to concern only the incorporation of the citizen in society, regulated primarily by 'participation' and 'individual development'. The general attitude of professional community educators to education's involvement in political action is one of disapproval and distaste. This is illustrated in Beasley's article (1981) where he referred to politics as 'a necessary evil' and professionals' participation in it as 'getting their hands dirty' in their attempts to create an 'open society'. Likewise, the response of a mainstream body of education professionals, Her Majesty's Inspectorate, was to reject any association between educational and political domains:

"The Inspectorate have not yet reached any collective view on community education but are of the opinion that education must and can be neutral, and should have no social, political or economic purpose. The dilemma of community education, if the Greenock pattern is repeated, could be that its success might lead to its rejection by the authorities." (Times Educational Supplement (Scotland), Feb. 1976)

The experience of these radical community education projects together with evidence from historical studies of adult education movements (Johnson,1979; Simon,1965; Thompson,1968; Entwistle,1979) suggests that popularist and politicised forms of adult education, which challenge established bourgeois society and ,thus, advocate real change in the socio-political order, cannot maintain this role for any length of time and also be part of the state system of educational provision in a capitalist society -regardless of whether this is based on the present front-end model of education, or on an holistic model. Johnson's (1979) and Simon's (1965) historical analyses of radical popularist education movements of the working class suggest that these were eventually incorporated into mainstream educational activities, and thence were neutralised, or defused, of their political challenge .In this way, Williams argued that it is possible for the existing hegemony to accommodate alternative and counter-hegemonic cultural forces, 'neutralising, changing or actually incorporating them' (1977:114). Another example of this historical process is found in Klein's analysis of the radical student counter-culture of the 1960's which demonstrated how a hegemony 'can operate to absorb, assimilate and integrate a variety of forms of protest into its own ideological network'(1969:313). The Gramscian concept of hegemonic control is discussed in the following Chapter (section 3.2.).

It has been argued that the contradiction which is central to the

ideology of holistic education can be understood in terms of the concept of ideology as involving some imaginary relation to the real owing to its role in class domination, and also its roots in both radicalised working class adult education and liberal, consensus-based adult education and youth and community work .

This paradox might also be seen as a move towards the incorporation of the radical tradition of informal work/community-based adult education within an holistic model of lifelong education. The consequence of this incorporation and absorption in practice appears to be the neutralisation of its radical political elements. How will this effect the long tradition of 'other avenues' for the pursuit of adult education aimed at the general education of the adult population and the development of 'organic' intellectuals in the working class? The value for socio-political change of adult education in a vocational or community context (e.g., Trade Union adult education, Workers Educational Association, Cooperative Education Association) needs to be revalued in the light of these trends. Entwistle's account of Gramsci's work on the education of adults concludes that further research is needed to investigate how successful organic intellectuals have been in promoting working class radicalism and training other organic intellectuals dedicated to replacing bourgeois by working class hegemony (1979:178).

2.6. IDEOLOGY AND THEORY IN HOLISTIC EDUCATION

The gap between 'theory' and practice is an acknowledged feature of holistic education. For example, Vinokur's economic analysis of lifelong education pointed to this problematic distinction between the theoretical concepts, values, beliefs and assumptions and the concrete realisations, practical expressions and achievements (1976: 288).

In relation to community education, the discrepancy between ideals and practice has been interpreted in terms of its theoretical immaturity (Lovett, 1979; Nisbet et al, 1980; Maclean and Martin, 1979). It is suggested that the lack of theory has contributed to the tendency to confuse 'ideology' and 'theory' in holistic education. This error has often given rise to both feelings of disillusionment amongst the more radical practitioners in community education when their idealist aims are not realised in practice (Kelvyn Richards, 1980) and uncritical attempts at theorising by some of the exponents of its ideology. Indeed, as Arnot and Whitty (1981) point out in relation to research on the sociology of the curriculum, in Britain there is a tendency to separate theoretical critiques of education from practical concerns. This is shown in the paucity of empirical studies of community education in practice which try to link theory to primary data.

In this study it is hoped to contribute to the critical development of theory in relation to holistic education in general and to community education in particular through the application of theoretical concepts used in the sociology of education to the practical experience of an experiment in school-based community

education.

With the exception of the UNESCO study of lifelong education (Dave, 1976), Westwood's analysis of the middle class bias of adult education (1980) and Skrimshire's article on community schooling (1981), sociological analysis of the concepts embodied in holistic education has made little significant contribution to theory or in suggesting a framework for the analysis of its ideology and practical manifestations. Contributing to this slow progress is, firstly, the broad scope of its 'holistic' frame of reference which has presented both theorist and practitioner with problems of diversity and ambiguity (Midwinter, 1973; Houghton, 1974; Fyson, 1980). For example, the diversity of forms of provision in adult education has led to comments such as:

"At present in the post-industrial countries the adult education sector has a proliferation of courses and organizations which defy rational analysis" (Houghton, 1974:8)

Given the diversity of the actual and potential forms of provision and the universalistic frame of reference of its educational ideology, any theory of holistic education must be able to incorporate these characteristics. This is a strength of the multi-disciplinary analysis presented in the UNESCO papers (Dave, 1976).

Secondly, confusion has stemmed from the heterogeneity of holistic education, owing to the historical development of its ideology and forms, which has fostered the growth of contradictions within it. Such confusion has led to unhelpful proposals such as, 'in the absence of consensus there can be little progress' (Fletcher, 1980). Given that the existence of contradiction is central to holistic education's ideology, it is argued that any attempt at critical analysis or

theorising must be an approach that recognises its significance . Such an approach is found in Skrimshire's essay (1981) and the UNESCO papers, most notably those of Janne (1976) and Vinokur (1976). Without a critical theoretical framework which takes account of both contradictions and the influence of changing productive forces in the development of education, 'theory' has tended to be relegated to the realm of ideology. This can be seen in Fletcher's attempts to develop a 'theory' of community education (1980), where 'theory' merely refers to a statement of the reflexive relationships between elements of the community education process. Neglect to analyse the historical development of community education within its broader socio-economic structure, allows Fletcher's theory to be accused of the 'parochialism' with which the subject-matter itself is often attributed (Musgrove, 1979).

It is suggested ,therefore, that the elements of contradiction, historicism and the relationship between education and its socio-economic structure should be incorporated within a broad-based theoretical framework for the analysis of ideology and evaluation of a practical manifestation of holistic education, the community school. The following Chapter develops such a theoretical framework by drawing on some of the concepts formulated in the sociology of education and by making an historical analysis of the emergence of community education with reference to the contemporary community school movement.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

- 3.1. AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL
- 3.2. A REVIEW OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF EDUCATION
- 3.3. A REVIEW OF CONFLICT AND THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL
- 3.4. THE FOCUS FOR 'CONFLICT' IN THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

It was argued in Chapter 2.6. that the formulation of a theoretical framework should involve both an historical analysis of community education/schools and the concepts of conflict and contradiction. Conflict was found to be a recurring theme in the existing research and literature on community schools and community education, but had not been explained or understood in terms of the wider processes of educational reform and its relation to socio-economic change.

This is attempted in Chapter 3, first, through an historical analysis of educational reform in relation to the emergence of community education/schooling. This section (3.1.) develops the argument that community education can be seen as part of 'new forms of control' in advanced capitalism . 'Advanced capitalist' society is a term adopted in this Chapter, and hereafter, in preference to 'post-industrial' society since it avoids the limitations of the latter phrase; rather, it refers to a phase in the economic development of the capitalist mode of production in Western societies in which the forms of production becomes increasingly automated and there is a tendency for control to become more centralized within the state apparatus .

The following section (2.2.) comprises a critical review of the contribution that sociological theories of education can make to a study of conflict and the community school, in particular its part in the wider process of social change.

Having developed a conceptual framework that might contribute to a sociological theory of community education and schooling, a review of

the current literature and research on the subject in section 3.3. revealed that in relation to the community school situation, a distinction could be drawn between:

- i) the school-community conflict between the 'providers' and 'consumers' of the experiment in community education and
- ii) the intra-professional conflict as the 'new' ideology of community education emerges and challenges the established orthodoxy of school-based education.

This dual focus for 'conflict' is discussed in section 3.4.

The observation of the overtly professional-political origins of the community school experiment, as opposed to any 'grassroots' notion of a community school as grounded in, and arising from, the real needs or wants of the local community, introduced the conceptually related notion of 'interests'. This idea is discussed in relation to the identification of groups within the research setting.

The term 'educational environment' is used in the study to refer to, firstly, the expanded frame of reference of the school owing to community education's aim to encourage the participation of all age groups in a wide range of educational/recreational activities; and secondly, the key intention of a closer and reciprocal relationship between school and community. The community school's educational environment therefore denotes the research setting which incorporates the three main respondent groups identified in Section 2.4.3.

3.1. AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

3.1.1. Indications of Educational Change.

Community schools are taken as local-based experiments in the 'open' ideology of holistic/community education but implemented within the traditionally 'closed' institution of the secondary school. Because the experiments in community schooling are set up within the ideology, institutions and attitudes associated with the established orthodoxy of mainstream schooling, tensions and conflicts frequently arise between the competing 'educations' as new ideas and innovations are implemented in community schools.

For example, in the OECD's report on 'School and Community'(1973), Maclure concluded that conflict in the form of ideological oppositions are a distinct feature of many school-based community education projects:

"Radical community school developments are by definition open-ended and unpredictable and produce situations of considerable strain for most of the people involved."(1973:18)

Similarly, Fletcher (1982) made the following statements in a summary of conclusions after four years of participant observation in a designated community school in Nottinghamshire. They too are indicative of the premise that the integration of 'open' and 'closed' forms of education within a community school produces 'tensions':

"...The community school is an emergent form."

"...community schools are qualitatively distinct."

"There are tensions associated with being a distinctive form."
(Fletcher, 1982)

The community school's greater capacity to make innovations within the school institution provided the main impetus behind Fletcher's statements and was also a major theme in a research study of community schools in Grampian Region (Nisbet et al, 1981). The Scottish research team found the integrated form of the community school to express a belief in community education as an attempt to 'redefine the whole educational process'. They stated that:

"With more open access comes the need to redefine what education is all about; its purpose (personal and recreational as well as vocational satisfaction); its context (informal settings in public museums, parks, bars or private homes as well as formal institutions such as schools or colleges); and its control (participation in decision-making by consumers as well as administrators and professionals)." (Nisbet et al, 1981: 11)

It is suggested that the contrasts noted by these researchers between the educational aims and practices in community schools and those of traditional secondary schools reflect the oppositions and contradictions between competing educational ideologies.

A review of the existing research and literature on community schools and community education reveals that these oppositions and contradictions ~~between~~ can be outlined for the sake of polemical argument. These are presented in Figure 3.1. in diagrammatic form. (The ideologies associated with these competing educations are were discussed in Chapter 2.2. and presented in Figure 2.1.)

The antithesis between competing 'educations' is unlikely to be absolute since the new forms and ideas are able to exist, albeit in a compromised fashion, within the established system of education and schooling, having developed from earlier forms of holistic education's ideology (see Chapter 2.2.).

FIG3.1 THE COMPONENTS OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION

COMPULSORY SCHOOL EDUCATION ←	→ COMMUNITY EDUCATION
Fragmentation/division	Integration/holism
Centralisation	Decentralisation
Isolation/exclusion	Expansion/inclusion
Institution based education	Community based learning
Fixed provision	Flexible service (outreach)
Professionalism	Voluntarism/self help
Control/authority	Challenge group responsibility
Subject based education (e.g. education for leisure)	Learning through participation (e.g. education through leisure)

For the most part, the contemporary forms of holistic education have been developing, both ideologically and methodologically, peripheral to mainstream institution-based educational activities in a variety of informal and community settings. As noted in the previous Chapter, the ideas of lifelong, recurrent and permanent education have provided the primary contribution to its conceptual development (OECD, 1973 & 1975; Council of Europe, 1973 & 1974; Schwarz, 1974; Dave, 1976; Seymour & Edmonds, 1977; Gelpi, 1979), while the methodological innovations introduced in informal adult education projects have contributed to the development of new educational techniques. To illustrate the contrasting approach of the 'new' educational forms, it is worth mentioning a few of these methods and projects briefly.

The informal 'outreach' community/adult education projects in Liverpool (Ashcroft & Jackson, 1974; Lovett, 1975), in Glasgow (McConnell, 1979; Wilkinson, 1981), and in Southampton (Fordham et al, 1979) developed the experimental model of 'learning networks'. This idea originated in

community development and community action and was adapted for educational practice only as a secondary aim. 'Learning networks' are an informal, non-didactic, non-teacher centred and non-classroom-based approach to education and used in a community setting. This approach was adopted on the grounds that it permitted the flexibility required to respond to the changing educational needs of individuals and groups within a local area.

An offshoot of this approach has been the development of 'learning cooperatives' or 'learning exchanges' by, for example, the Cooperative Education Association and the BBC's Linked Study Groups. Like the networks method, this flexible approach is community-based and centres the education process on the individual students rather than on the professional, who instead serves as a 'coordinator' of information and resources and 'initiator' of ideas (Scottish Cooperative Education Association, 1981: 3).

Other new forms of community-based education have been seen in the development of Community Arts projects and Community Business ventures which stress the value of autonomy, or 'education for self-reliance' (Scottish Institute of Adult Education, 1981:5-7).

The expansion and integration of education with a wider range of cultural activities in the community is indicated by the use of a new multi-media approach (local and national) to adult education (Anderson, 1974; Gartside, 1977). Related to this is the development of an 'open learning' approach which is another informal learning methodology which has attempted to move away from the 'rigidity' of professional-centred, institution-based education. It was a method

originally associated with independent educational agencies (e.g. Labour colleges, Workers Educational Association and the BBC) and has gradually been adopted by more formal educational bodies (e.g. Open University) in the form of 'distance learning', 'flexistudy' and 'learning by appointment' (Paine, 1981: 2).

The informal approach of these contemporary forms of holistic education, characterised by these 'new' techniques and methods, lays emphasis on the 'expressive' aims of learning in contrast with the instrumental aims characteristic of institution-based education, particularly schooling. The focus is on 'learning' rather than teaching; on the 'process' of learning rather than the product of education; on active 'participation' in learning experiences rather than the passive absorption of facts and information; on professionals acting as 'counsellors', 'enablers', 'coordinators' and 'animateurs' rather than keepers of knowledge and skills. The purpose of the educational experience is not only focused on the material activities of work and employment, but also involves learning through, and for , leisure, the family, social and community activities.

The fact that these new forms and concepts of holistic education have been developing in recent years on the fringe of formal institution-based education, was interpreted by the Council of Europe (1974) as a prerequisite for their role in educational change:

"...These revolutionary changes cannot originate in the present education system which can only be improved within the logic of its own structures. The impulse can only come from outside where a new system will be devised." (Council of Europe, 1974: 21)

These indications of contemporary educational changes need to be analysed historically in relation to changing socio-economic

conditions precipitated by transformations in the mode of production of advanced capitalism. What are the motives, or 'impulse', that underlie the present calls for educational reforms? An historical analysis of these issues in relation to the emergence of community education and community schooling in the 1970's and the 1980's serves the following purposes:

- a) To set the contemporary educational issues, problems and debates in an historical context;
- b) to demonstrate continuities in the motives and reasons underlying educational reforms, and also
- c) to emphasise the significance of change, crisis and material transformations in the development of educational forms.

The following historical analysis seeks to examine the development of the established system of statutory school-based education (the 'front-end' model) in contemporary Britain as an important background to the emergence of the competing ideology of community education.

3.1.2. The Development of Universal Compulsory Schooling

The establishment of 'mainstream' educational ideology and practice in industrial capitalist society in Great Britain is seen to be the cumulative result of educational developments as far back as the late eighteenth century, the early period of the industrial revolution, until the present day. Johnson's (1970,1976,1979) and Simon's (1960,1965,1974,1977) analyses of the historical development of universal compulsory, or 'mass', schooling since 1780 have provided

valuable materialist accounts of the historical development of the existing educational system. The concepts of 'hegemony' and 'class control' are central to their analyses of educational development in this phase of bourgeois capitalist society.

Johnson's analysis of the schooling of the English working class (1780-1850) saw the motives underlying bourgeois reformers' attempts to introduce 'mass schooling' as 'to assert or reassert class control' and was 'sustained and managed by superior influences'. It signalled the ambition to get all working class children into a school for some part of their lives (1976: 44-45). This period in the development of schooling, characterised by 'private' and 'endowed' monitorial schools, was concerned more with ideological control (the teaching of moral values of obedience, deference, discipline and authority) than with the teaching of occupational skills, beyond basic literacy:

"... habits, attitudes, the general 'moral' alienation of the child were of more concern than either the development of skills or the transmission of knowledge."

Johnson concluded that this form of school education was intended to produce:

"... new human beings with new, more disciplined, sociality." (1976: 48)

In the more liberal climate of the 1830s, the moral concern of the 'bourgeois observers' about remedying the 'obstinately ungovernable' behaviour of the working people was the central problem that evoked the solution of universal compulsory schooling. Educational historians have frequently pointed to the relationship between the schooling enterprise and the 'problem of public order' (e.g. Hurt, 1971; Sharp, 1980). For Simon (1965), the concern for educational action and intervention was primarily related to social control and the defence

of property at a time when the thrust of industrialisation had brought to the attention of those in power the radical activities and inclinations of the labouring poor (e.g. the Paines, Owenites and Chartist movements).

The rapid expansion of schooling between 1838-1843 was understood by Johnson to signal two motives: Firstly, to re-establish the means of hegemony as older systems of control collapsed; and secondly, to transform the world of work by introducing the school as a substitute for the home and family as the main socialising agent for employment and citizenship (1976: 57). According to Johnson, the first official image of the professional schoolteacher was as the substitute parent (1770:112), while even today the authority of the school over the child is exercised 'in loco parentis'(Shaw,1977:181-190).

Although the Newcastle Commission of 1861 rejected the idea of universal compulsory schooling, nine years later the 1870 Education Act set out the institutional framework for state schools, controlled by the School Boards and financed on the basis of 'payment by results'. This established a comprehensive network of elementary education to fill the gaps in schooling provision supported by voluntary societies. The 1870 Act also made by-laws to enforce compulsory attendance in schools. Two years later, the 1872 (Scotland) Education Act bound Scotland to English educational legislation and developments in the organisation and administration of schooling (Hyndman, 1978). Simon (1977) explains the motives behind this State intervention in education in terms of the ruling powers seeking to maintain hegemony and control in the light of the relative decline of British technical and industrial developments and the enfranchisement

of a proportion of the working (artisan) class in 1867: 'Education was now seen as a political as well as an economic necessity' (Simon, 1977: 40).

The 1902 Education Act is usually taken as the foundation of the state system of secondary (grammar school) education. This political act was opposed at the time by the Labour Movement, and other liberal elements in civil society, who perceived it as a deliberately reactionary move against the interests of the working class by destroying the beginnings of a democratic system of popular control over local schools, the School Boards. This idea was expressed by Simon (1977) when he stated that,

"The (1902) Act and other statutory measures carried through at the time, deliberately thrust back the outgrowth (or upward movement) from the elementary schools which was taking on a popular character." (Simon, 1977: 39)

The direct intervention of the state and the moves towards central control in education has gathered increasing force since 1870. This is indicated in the growth of the centralised educational bureaucracy in the contemporary form of the Department of Education and Science, first set up in 1861; the reorganisation of Colleges of Education in the early 1970s; the central control of the school curriculum advocated by the Permanent Secretary in 1976 and implemented through restructuring the School Council, as proposed in April 1982; and the Prime Minister's Ruskin speech in 1977, which clearly favoured more central control. These centralisation tendencies are taken as indicative of the growth of education as 'an arm of national policy' (Silver, 1978) in advanced capitalist society and, thus, increasingly as an 'arena for class struggle', where the state represents different

class interests at different times, or different combinations of class interests (Simon, 1977:42).

By the First World War, universal elementary schooling had been fully implemented in industrial Britain, and the period of the Second World War and the 1944⁴ Education Act marked the emergence of a formal educational system (Husen, 1979). From this point, junior state secondary schooling became compulsory for all children up to the age of 14 years, for although previously the majority of children completed elementary education at this age, only a minority (13% in 1938) attained scholarships or paid fees to undertake any secondary education (Hyndman, 1978). This supports Simon's proposition that the establishment of secondary education 'as a system apart' was designed for the benefit of an elite, and separate from the elementary school system for the working class (1977: 39). This set the pattern for the development of universal (selective) compulsory school education for children upon which the contemporary 'front-end' model of education has been built.

The socio-economic conditions in post-war Britain held the prospect of industrial expansion, full-time employment and raised standards of living for the working population. National economic interests were in having a young population educated and trained in the occupational skills and moral attitudes (epitomised in the 'work ethic') required to serve the growing industrial, technical and commercial sectors. Reeder (1979) noted the prevailing belief in 'education for industrial citizenship', during and after the War, while the 'upskilled, comprehensively educated school leaver' became the 1960's image of the perfect worker (CCCS,1981:19). Schools were geared to equip children

with the academic qualifications needed to gain entry in the expanding job market, and to teach attitudes conducive to leading a life centred around employment (e.g. discipline, punctuality, deference to authority). The link that developed between schooling and employment is what Jenkins and Sherman (1981) refer to as the basic 'contract' between pupil and school, upon which a school's credibility is built. Thus, there are strong expectations that schools should assess and label pupils according to their academic achievements and select the most 'competent' to fill the jobs defined as most important. Bloomer and Shaw (1979) argue that this general expectation of school education is rarely questioned because 'it would be a betrayal or rejection of the basic assumptions behind existing educational ideology.'

The principles that are suggested to be central to the established ideology of universal compulsory school education are that it is:

- i) Goal-oriented and specific.
- ii) Geared towards the achievement of standardised academic qualifications (the 'product' of school education) pre-conditional upon the uptake of employment.
- iii) Confined to didactic class teaching by professionals within an institutional setting.
- iv) Geared to maintain control through an authority-based hierarchy.

These principles provide the core ideology of the established system of schooling which the mainstream body of educationalists support.

Faith and optimism in the established educational ideology of schooling reached a peak in the 1960s at a time when the industrial-

based economy was still expanding. The educational system also proliferated and absorbed increasing amounts of public and private resources. In this period of economic expansion, educational innovation and reform were a major priority (Bernbaum, 1979) and included re-structuring the curriculum, introducing new educational technology, re-organising from a selective to a comprehensive basis, and compensating educationally 'disadvantaged' areas. These liberal reforms, however, did not challenge the core ideology of mainstream educational theory and practice.

2.1.3. The Emergence of the 'Community' Educational Ideology in the 1970s

As outlined in the first part of this section, external to formal institution-based educational activities, a new ideology, based on the 'open' and flexible principles of holistic education, has been developing contrasting ideas and practices, most notably in the spheres of informal and Adult Education and Youth and Community Work.

In Chapter 2.2., it was shown how the ideology of holistic education has tended to become influential within sections of the professional education community during periods of social and economic change. This may be due to its greater concern with, and propensity for, innovation and flexibility and, thus, its greater ability to address problems of adjustment occurring in periods of social change. Thus, Flude and Parrot, in advocating the development of a recurrent education system in Britain, state that:

"... education in the late twentieth century needs to concern itself with change, with adjustment and with survival for institutions as

well as individuals... The key to institutional change, as to personal adaptation, is flexibility." (Flude & Parrot, 1979: 50)

The transformations in the forms of production characteristic of advanced capitalism in the late twentieth century has been closely linked with the need for adaptation and change in the major social and cultural institutions of a 'post-industrial society' (Bell, 1974; Touraine, 1974; Mankin, 1978). Thus, educators and political commentators concerned with the future development of society stress the need for the development of increasing flexibility in education's aims, structures and forms of provision:

"The need to be able to adapt to changing circumstances is paramount. This means that young adults must be able to learn about new things rapidly whether they apply to work or to leisure or the home." (Jenkins and Sherman, 1981:88-9)

Here, Jenkins and Sherman express the idea that education must extend its attentions beyond the school's traditional narrow focus on employment skills and situations to incorporate a much wider spectrum of cultural life. The idea that the mechanisms of cultural transmission have expanded to include 'new forms of control', or a wider range of external socialisation agencies, such as popular culture, was posited by Marcuse (1970) and others in the Frankfurt school in their development of a sociology of mass culture appropriate for advanced capitalism. Marcuse's concept of 'material culture' (1972) is also useful here: it denotes the 'actual patterns of behaviour in earning a living, the system of operational values'. It is suggested that the expanded, or 'open', frame of reference signalled by community education and community schooling can be seen as part of the new forms of control developing in advanced capitalism. In this way, community education aims to interfuse with many

educational aspects of material culture at a time when the social relations to production are undergoing transformation.

Jenkins and Sherman (1979) had earlier analysed the contemporary social debate and issues in terms of the 'collapse of work'. The attendant problems of increasing unemployment (especially for young people, manual and unskilled labour power) have been identified as the erosion of work-based identities and feelings of worthlessness, failure and isolation among non-working people (Darnley, 1975; Kelvin, 1982). These are the issues to which community education explicitly addresses itself (SCEC, 1980; Pilley, 1981). Thus, again the close link between the needs of capital and the development of educational policy are expressed. The 'need' for community education in the present phase of social and economic development was articulated by two professional community educators in these terms:

"There is little doubt that in the next ten years, there will be a dramatic increase in the need for community education. The reason is obvious in that the present and projected levels of unemployment will require the establishment of a range of activities that will give individuals opportunities for personal development, whether people are unemployed or have increased or enforced leisure time as a result of short-time work or work-sharing, they will require a chance to take part in something through which they will gain achievement, satisfaction and status." (Liddle & Mercer, 1980)

In a similar way, the Russel Report (1973) and the Alexander Report (1975) both focused their liberal-reformist attentions on the problem of how to incorporate those working class and 'disadvantaged' groups (increasingly regarded as the young unemployed) who had previously been non-participant in adult and further education, and were, therefore, beyond the influence of the education system. Rose and Halner (1975) suggested that the expansion of the educational apparatus signalled by community education can be seen as an attempt

to incorporate and encapsulate potential dissidents. As Corrigan (1982) argued, it is unlikely that a large body of unemployed can exist outside the major material structures of work and school for any extent of time.

Community education is also regarded as a response to problems of public disorder, such as the wave of inner-city riots in the summer of 1981. In reaction to the government's repressive strategy of increasing police powers and defences and reinforcing the Manpower Services Commission's youth-training programmes (Manpower Services Commission, 1981), community education has adopted a more informal and non-coercive educational strategy, seeking the cooperation of disruptive groups in the community. (Davies, 1979 & 1981; SCAN, Aug. 1981: 3). By extending the educational network to incorporate wider spheres of material culture, to penetrate school, family, leisure and work situations and all age groups in the community, education becomes a more effective form of control in advanced capitalist society.

The contemporary problems of individual and social adjustment and integration that have arisen from a changing social order are not seen to be resolved by the practice of mainstream school education, which is viewed by Husen (1979) to be in a period of 'crisis':

"In the 1960s formal education was, virtually without reservation, seen as beneficial to both the individual and society. In the 1970s however, this unquestioning support for, and firm confidence in, schooling gave way to disenchantment and severe criticism." (Husen, 1979: 177).

In his comparative study of the school in Western societies, Husen identified four major problem areas besetting the institution of schooling: Institutional isolation; the equality versus meritocracy dilemma; the aims of schooling; and the redefinition and integration

of education and work (1979: 177-8).

The foundation of the established educational system on schooling for a full employment situation and education for a working lifestyle is also considered to be an outmoded principle by certain professional and political bodies (e.g., Strathclyde Regional Council, 1981; Educational Institute of Scotland, 1982; Scottish Council for Community Education, 1982). For example, Strathclyde Regional Council's Report on the future planning of post-compulsory education recommended the development of 'new education order' based on a wider definition of educational needs:

"As we move into a society in which most physical work is going to be done by machines, a society in which a mere fraction of the workforce can produce all our material wants and goods, then education for employment, although still a part, must become only one of several objectives of a new education order, and even then different in nature and content to the traditions of the past." (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1981: 9).

The questioning of the efficiency of the established ideology of formal statutory schooling has been a central theme in a number of essays and articles since the 1970s. These critiques of schooling include not only radical 'deschooling' proposals (Illich, 1972; Reimer, 1971; Goodman, 1972; Gretton & Jackson, 1976) and reformist challenges of current forms of schooling (Bernbaum, 1979; Scottish Education Department, 1980), but also in the establishment of 'alternative' or 'free' schools (Mackenzie, 1976; Neill, 1961) and the growth of pressure groups within the professional body of educationalists (e.g. Rank and File Teachers group, the Community Education Association).

All these represent a challenge to the established forms and methods

of school education. It might also suggest increasing antagonisms within the politico-professional education body in this period of material transformation and educational 'crisis' between those embracing 'new' educational ideas and methods and those seeking to maintain established educational forms and methods. The ideological and political nature of the contemporary education debate, as opposed to its foundation in 'objective' reality, was emphasised by Wright (1978).

Harvey's notion of 'counter-revolution' to threatened change (1973) might also be applied to the contemporary education debate. In the politico-professional education community, counter-revolution is apparent in a continued and increasing support for the pursuit and reinforcement of the ideas, methods and values engendered in the traditional orthodoxy of education and schooling. Popularly, it is referred to as the 'Back to Basics' movement (Barrow, 1979) and is epitomised by the conservative arguments expressed in the Black Papers on education (e.g., Cox and Boyson, 1977). They reasserted that the purpose of education is to prepare young people for work, and they expressed the feeling that 'the educational system is out of touch with the fundamental need of Britain to survive economically in a highly competitive world through the efficiency of its industry and commerce.' They insisted on the provision of certain basic skills and competences in school education, and the reassertion of the authoritative control of adults as part of 'a renewed awareness that the child's happiness and personal fulfillment depend on a secure environment' (Cox and Boyson, 1977).

Amongst this section of the politico-professional education body,

disillusionment with the 1960s progressive liberal-reformist attempts to find solutions to problems of equality of opportunity, social justice and economic efficiency has produced a retrenchment to traditional moral values and educational beliefs and practices. The Prime Minister, Thatcher, is one of the leading protagonists of the counter-revolutionary movement. This was expressed clearly in her speech to the Tory Central Council Meeting in March 1982, when she said:

"We are reaping what was sown in the sixties. The fashionable theories and permissive claptrap set the scene for a society in which the old virtues of discipline and self-restraint were denigrated. Parents, teachers and other adults need to set clear consistent limits to the behaviour of children and young people. Children need, respond to, and lack clear rules." (The Sunday Times, 28. 3. 82)

It is interesting to note that the need to re-establish adult authority and control over young people has provided the basis of conservative support for community schools through their argument for greater adult involvement and presence in schools. This was expressed in Morgan's article, 'The Crisis in Family Life' in the Daily Telegraph (4. 1. 82).

The counter-revolutionary movement in the education debate in the late 1970s and early 1980s is seen to represent a reformist approach which aims to ensure a more direct relationship between school education and national economic needs (i.e., the needs of capital) through increasingly centralised control of the educational apparatus and the reinforcement of dominant cultural values.

Against this solution, is contrasted the informal approach to educational reform, characterised by holistic education, through the expansion, integration and de-formalization of education's control and

socialisation functions with the wider spheres of cultural life and directed at all age groups in the community. As such, community education is a new form of educational integration and 'mass resocialisation' (Brewster, 1977).

The competing approaches to the 'crisis' and 'decline' in schooling were noted by Bernbaum:

"First, there has developed a new future-oriented romanticism, albeit cloaked in radicalism, second... there has arisen a well-articulated demand for a return to what are seen as past policies, standards and a closer link of the education system to the apparent needs of a wealth-producing nation." (Bernbaum, 1979: 3)

The terms used by Bernbaum to refer to the competing educational ideologies - the 'new' described as 'romantic' and the 'past' referred to as 'well-articulated' - indicates a crucial distinction between the different power relations of competing parties in the ideological debate, i.e., access to, and/or control over, strategic resources.

This was pointed out by Bloomer and Shaw when they wrote:

"Who has the best ideology for the day and the means by which to market it are now critical issues. Access to the media, facilities to publish and 'getting the right people to say it' become crucial concerns" (1979: 11).

In the present 'crisis' period, the ideology of holistic education co-exists alongside, but competes with, the established ideology of schooling, and at present the indications of change in established educational structures and policies are limited. For example, the Scottish Institute for Adult Education stated that despite the number of significant developments in, and increasing support for, a lifelong educational approach, 'it is difficult to detect signs of any substantial modification of educational policies or educational structures designed to take account of these new developments and new

demands.' (SIAE, 1981:5).

Recent experience has shown that the more radical ideals of community education in effecting fundamental change in the traditional ideas and methods of education have not been realized when implemented within the mainstream system of education. For example, Kelvyn Richards (1980) referred cynically to the practice of community education by Coventry's local authority service:

"... the work is palliative. It was concerned to make or help people fit the system more neatly, rather than help them change the system to fit them more neatly." (Kelvyn Richards, 1980)

Similarly, in the cases of school-based community education projects, where the community school is incorporated within a 'school'-dominated local education authority service, it appears that there is also a modification of the more radical ideals and aims of community education. Brewster and Whiteford (1978/79) also refute the belief that community schooling could ever act as real agents of change in society:

"Rather than assuming that such (community) schools might be capable of generating some kind of social change at the neighbourhood level it would seem to us that in an objective sense the hidden consequences of this assumption is to extend the social control function of our education system in precisely those areas in which social control is thought to be necessary." (Brewster & Whiteford, 1978/9: 21).

The implementation of community education within the established system of formal education is also seen to exacerbate the inequalities apparent in present schooling provision, for example, through the concentration of 'social' education in 'deprived' areas and traditional academic education in middle class areas (Fox-Pivon & Cloward, 1973; Merson & Campbell, 1974; Brewster & Whiteford, 1978/9).

These points have indicated some of the unintended consequences of community education and schooling in practice as the ideals are implemented within the established state educational apparatus. In its previously peripheral position to mainstream institution-based educational provision, the more radical ideas embodied in holistic education enjoyed much greater freedom to challenge the established social and educational order.

The process of educational change, the phenomena of ideological conflicts and the relation between the ideology and practice of community education are central issues for the study of the community school; yet, they appear to be complex problems. In the following section these issues are discussed in the light of sociological theories of education with the aim of developing further a theoretical understanding of the community school in advanced capitalist society.

3.2. A REVIEW OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF EDUCATION

The examination of the ideology of holistic education in Chapter 2 revealed that the main issues for theoretical analysis are: firstly, the contradiction of control /change central to its ideology, and secondly, the conflict inherent in the emergence of this ideology, in the contemporary form of community education and community schools,

within the established front-end model of educational provision.

In the previous section, it was argued that this emergent ideology and form of education may be seen as part of the 'new forms of control' in advanced capitalism. It also highlighted the need for a further examination of the issues of educational change and the discrepancy between the ideals and aims of community education, as expressed in ideological terms, and the realities of experience and practice.

In this section, these issues and problems are explored by developing a theoretical framework for the study of community education, with particular reference to the community school. This includes an analysis of the nature and function of community education within the wider socio-economic structure and the relationship between this structure and the education system as a whole. To this end, a review of some earlier and recent contributions to the sociology of education is made in order to examine how some of these concepts may be valuable in developing a sociological understanding of the community school in advanced capitalism.

3.2.1. Liberal Pragmatism: 'Progress' through Education

In the 1950s and 1960s the early sociology of education, exemplified in the work of Halsey, Floud and Anderson, 'Education, Economy and Society'(1961), put forward the liberal-reformist view of education. The basic premises of this perspective were focused on the rapid technological changes in advanced industrial societies. The changes in the productive forces required an increasingly skilled and educated

workforce to cope with the changes in the labour market. Education played a key role in providing skilled labour by which technology could be translated into economic growth. The view that education is an investment area (as distinct from a consumption area) has been expressed in many of the arguments for continuing, recurrent and community education, e.g., the Alexander Report in 1975 and in the discussion document on continuing education presented by the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (1979:6). Community education, like school education, is presented as an area of investment.

The early sociology of education also focused on the issue of inequality and the class bias of education in its concern with social justice and efficiency in education (Floud, Halsey and Martin, 1956; Douglas, 1964). But despite the policy-oriented research, recommendations and legislative reforms in education (e.g., the introduction of a comprehensive schooling system) that characterised this period, inequality persisted (Jencks, et al, 1974). This approach to the sociology of education and educational reform, referred to by Banks (1972) as 'political arithmetic', provided the basis of the EPA form of compensatory community education and schooling and was based on the liberal political ideology of social democracy. It proposed that through appropriate political and educational reforms of resource allocation, the effects of the capitalist market economy could be modified and social inequalities redressed. According to Kogan (1971), this pragmatic approach was a result of the closer links between sociologists and political decision-makers. It, therefore, made little contribution to the development of a critical, theory-based view of

education. Rather the idealism within the liberal approach gave education and schooling, and the culture they both produce and transmit, an apolitical appearance by viewing these as independent and autonomous features of society. This approach has also been adopted by exponents of holistic education. For example, in 'Learning to be', Faure expressed an autonomous notion of education in its role as a mechanism of integration and adjustment to the growing areas of social dislocation in a rapidly changing society:

"The link between education and other expressions of society are not so close, so determinative, that the elements of the system cannot be modified independently of the whole. There are forces acting to transform educational structures which occur more or less directly with social transformations. It is on this condition that societies will escape from the weight of tyrannical conditions and paralysing inflexibility. Thus, society and education will proceed at the same pace and the contradictions that render man's life so chaotic will be reduced" (Faure, 1972).

Similarly, the belief that action within the field of education can be the means, or a major force behind, progressive social change was expressed in the Alexander Report on the development of community education in Scotland:

"The educational system is itself an agent of change in as much as it affects the character of social and technical change, the pace at which new knowledge and attitudes are diffused through society and the quality of life in the broadest possible sense" (HMSO, 1975:para 45)

3.2.2. Conflict and Education: Progress for Whom?

This form of 'technical functionalism' in the sociology of education was criticised on the grounds that it stressed the socialisation work of schooling at the expense of the study of conflict. Schools were seen as 'core' institutions for the preparation of each new generation in a society that was viewed as essentially consensual in nature. Students were assumed to be passive recipients of their education

and schooling was seen as a training that guaranteed their successful preparation as citizens, workers and parents (e.g., Young and Beardsley, 1968).

The technical functionalist consensus view of education was criticised by both Weberian and Marxist social theorists. From a Weberian perspective of conflict, Collins (1972) argued that schooling made little impact upon technical skills, but rather 'the main activity of schools is to teach particular status cultures, both in and outside the classroom' (1972:187). With a pluralist concept of power relations, Collins argued that schooling represents an arena for struggle between status groups to control certain sections of the labour market. His analysis of schooling anticipated the later discussion of the hidden curriculum and the importance of cultural components of education. However, the Weberian view of conflict, seen also in, for example, Vaughan and Archer (1971), as the struggle between status groups, led the analysis of education away from the central significance of class power and social inequalities that had been emphasised by earlier writers, such as Floud, Halsey and Martin (1956) - although they did not provide an adequate explanation of the socio-economic structure within which education operates.

The 'radical' neo-Marxist approach also stressed the importance of social conflict, together with the reproductive function of education, and the inequalities of capitalist society. For these social theorists, 'progress' is given an explicit interpretation in this approach: the overthrow of the capitalist system, rather than its maintenance and reform.

3.2.3. Education and Social Reproduction: Capitalism and the State.

By the mid-1970s the dominance of liberal pragmatism in the sociology of education and the emphasis on consensual theories of social order were challenged by this new structuralist approach. It is exemplified by Althusser's essay on education (1971) and in the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Dale, Esland and Macdonald (1976). It offered new categories for the analysis of schooling and its failure to fulfil the aims implicit in the liberal ideology of education: the acquisition of knowledge and technical skills, individual development, social mobility and the alleviation of social problems. The attention given to the function of social reproduction by these social theorists gives a clearer analysis of the role of education in relation to capitalism, to the fortune of classes and (with the exception of Bowles and Gintis) to classes in relation to the state. The early sociology of education ignored the role of the state in relation to the nature and form of educational provision and its processes since its starting point was not the material basis of capitalism and class-based inequalities, but a view of industrial society which included a pluralistic notion of conflict and power relations.

Among the main concepts used in this radical critique were capital accumulation, exploitation, alienation and the labour process. Emphasis was laid on capitalism in defining the domain of education and the struggles that occur within that arena: conflict and crises were seen as inherent within an economic system where the accumulation of profits is concentrated in the hands of a few. Emphasis was also laid on the mechanisms whereby capitalism, as a system, is able to

reproduce itself, both in its production requirements for labour power and in its social need for an ordered labour force willing to consent and submit to the production process. In the latter sense of reproduction, it was proposed that capitalism requires a specific ideological climate which is located in the material structures of civil society - the school, the family, the workplace, the media, trade unions, i.e., all the social, political and legal systems central to the democratic process itself which help to bind the individual within the social order. For example, for Althusser (1971) the components of civil society became the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA's) owing to the impact of the state on their formation. The ISA's are essential to the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production since they reproduce, for capital, the existing social relations to production which encompass the class system and its antagonisms (1971:123-173). Thus, Althusser states that education imparts to children not subjects and skills as generally understood, but:

"besides these techniques and knowledges...children at school also learn the rules of good behaviour, i.e., that attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labour, according to the job he is 'destined' for; rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labour, and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination." (Althusser, 1971:127)

The development of a political economy of education posited a 'correspondence' between the social relations of schooling and the social relations of production. Similar to Althusser, Bowles and Gintis (1976) described this notion of correspondence when they wrote:

"The educational system serves - through the correspondence of its social relations with those of economic life - to reproduce economic inequality and to distort personal development. Thus, under corporate capitalism, the objectives of liberal educational reform are contradictory: it is precisely because of its role as producer of a

stratified and alienated labour force that the educational system has developed its stratified and unequal structure." (Bowles and Gintis, 1976:48)

Bowles and Gintis also propose that when the educational system inevitably falls out of correspondence with the social relations of production, the 'disjunction' becomes a force antithetical to the economic development of capitalism (1976:236). Thus, in this view, the primary contradiction of capitalism between the private appropriation of profit and socialised production is an essential aspect of the process of educational change.

Before going on to consider further developments in this approach to the sociology of education, it is valuable to consider the implications of the neo-Marxist analysis of social reproduction in education for a theoretical understanding of community education, especially in relation to the conflicts and contradictions apparent within it. In the previous sections it has been shown how community educators often regard their methods and ideas of 'openness' and 'change' as opposed to the 'closed' form and methods of 'control' in traditional schooling. Yet, given the relatively low level of participation by working class adults in this form of educational provision, this view is not confirmed by the target population of consumers. Newman, for example, notes the disadvantages associated with the community use of schools for adult education purposes:

"Using schools in the evenings does not always help. It requires faith on entering some adult education premises to believe that anything but a repetition of one's worst school experiences could ever take place in such surroundings." (Newman, 1979:26)

The work of Bowles and Gintis suggests that those who have learned, through unsuccessful schooling experiences, that education is an alienating process regard other forms of education as an extension of

that process. In this way, school-based community education will tend to reinforce the inequalities of the schooling system. However, in the community school, attempts to democratize education through, for example, the redefinition of teacher-pupil relationships and the greater openness and control given to pupils and the community in its affairs and activities, may indicate that the strict application of the social reproduction model of schooling will be called into question if the experience of compulsory schooling changes for the present generation of community school pupils.

In relation to non-school-based forms of recurrent educational provision, the reproductive model is also valuable. For example, the middle class bias of participation in Open University courses is analysed by Woolfe (1977) in terms of inequalities and the social relations of production under capitalism. Westwood (1980) argues that the ideals and aims of Open University, situated as it is within the capitalist mode of production, become distorted; its mode of transmission of knowledge (distance learning) is as alienating as the work process itself. The Open University's large bureaucratic structure is another factor seen to contribute to the alienating effects of this form of recurrent education: the centre controls the pace, form and organization of work and thereby minimises the degree of control by its students.

3.2.4. The Complexities of Reproduction: Culture, Ideology and Hegemony

This macro-level view of the political economy of education and its concept of correspondence in particular, has been found to be an

inadequate explanation of the 'black box' of schooling. The assumption of a direct relationship between the social relations of production and education, in the reductionist sense of the former determining the latter's role in social reproduction, is criticised by Simon (1977) and Sarup (1978) as too mechanistic. They argue that social reproduction occurs at different levels and in different forms, e.g., language, art, leisure, politics. Correspondence theory fails to recognise the complex mechanisms intervening between the ideological 'superstructure', of which schools are a part, and the economic 'base'. Such criticisms of the correspondence theory challenged its deterministic model of causality, its passive view of human beings, its political pessimism and its failure to highlight the contradictions and tensions that characterise the workplace and school. For these reasons, Giroux (1980) argues that although such theories are useful in locating the school in its socio-political context, the model should now be abandoned.

Although the work of the French cultural theorist, Bourdieu, can be criticised for its correspondence premise, it has also contributed significantly to the theoretical development of the radical sociology of education. By introducing the concepts of cultural reproduction and cultural capital, Bourdieu (1974 & 1976) clarified the subtle mechanisms involved in working class alienation from education. Alongside the concept of economic (material) capital, he introduced the notion of cultural (symbolic) capital which masks the naked exploitation of the capitalist system and the relationship between classes : cultural capital is as unequally divided as private wealth (Bourdieu, 1974). Schools play an important role in transmitting and

reproducing cultural capital since what is taught in schools is regarded as valid and worthy of preserving. Although each school offers its pupils the same educational opportunities, schools perpetuate class inequalities transmitted through the family, and, therefore, only some of them (upper and middle classes) are capable of appropriating them (Bourdieu, 1976). The ability to appropriate cultural capital, i.e., cultural competence, is defined by Murdock as:

"...knowledge about the legitimate stock of cultural capital, mastery of the intellectual and social skills surrounding its consumption and use, and the ability to deploy this knowledge and skill to advantage in social situations." (Murdock, 1977:3)

Bourdieu's work suggests that the owners of economic capital are becoming more concerned with the consumption of cultural products, such as education, as a means of greater legitimation. In this way, the middle class bias of adult education and its promotion of individual competence is explained by Westwood in terms of cultural capital and cultural competence (1980:41). Friere's emphasis on the cultural components of educational transmission in his discussion of adult literacy (1972) is also linked to Bourdieu's concept of cultural competence. The common core curriculum offered in the educational programmes of community schools in Scotland (Brewster and Brewster, 1979) is another aspect of cultural reproduction and the reinforcement of social inequalities. From Bourdieu's perspective, community/adult education is a cultural process involved in reproducing and maintaining a consensus.

As indicated earlier in the criticisms of correspondence theory, the processes of social and cultural reproduction are more complex than plotted in the analyses of education given by Althusser, Bowles and Gintis and Bourdieu. They focused on the role of education in

maintaining the relations of domination and subordination between classes, but the concepts of ideology and culture are used loosely and ambiguously. The deterministic model of the relations between base and superstructure (reflection and reproduction) were challenged as too simplistic. In a review of neo-Marxist cultural theory, Williams (1976) notes the revaluation of the base-superstructure relationship towards a model in which the superstructural elements of the social formation in advanced capitalism exist in complex interpenetration with the economic base and productive forces. Operational qualifications in the formula of base-superstructure are introduced, such as, delays in time, mediations, various technical complications and indirectness. The 'base' is revalued from the notion of a fixed economic or technological abstraction towards specific activities of men in real social and economic relationships, containing fundamental contradictions and variations and, therefore, always in a process of transformation.

The qualifications developed by Gramsci, in particular the concepts of hegemony and civil society, make a valuable contribution to a sociological analysis of community education and schooling in advanced capitalism. 'Hegemony' is a conceptualization that brings together the notions of ideology and culture, while also transcending the limitations of both (Gramsci, 1971). It is a concept that is central to Gramsci's social theory and is described by Williams as:

"Hegemony goes beyond 'culture'...in its insistence on relating the 'whole social process' to specific distributions of power and influence. To say that 'men' define and shape their whole lives is true only in abstraction. In any actual society there are specific inequalities in means and therefore in capacity to realize this process. In a class society there are primarily inequalities between classes. Gramsci therefore introduces the necessary recognition of domination and subordination in what has still, however, to be

recognised as a whole process." (Williams, 1977:108)

Through Gramsci's work the role of ideological struggles in social/educational change is emphasised because he regards domination as much a part of 'consensus' as it is of force, coercion and conflict. Both 'hegemony' and 'ideology' emphasise domination and both involve elements of real and constant change. Williams (1976) clarifies the distinction between Gramsci's concept of hegemony from the concept of ideology: Hegemony supposes the existence of something total, deeply penetrating the consciousness, to the extent that hegemonic values are paralleled with the idea of 'common sense': a popular Gramscian saying is that common sense is the ideology of the ruling class, while good sense is the ideology of the working class. Bourgeois hegemonic values, behaviour patterns and market and bureaucratic organizations penetrate every sphere of civil society, not only the major material structures of the school, the family and the workplace, but also a wide range of cultural practices. Ideology is for Gramsci, like Althusser, secondary and superstructural; ideologies assist in the formulation of social, political and cultural ideas and practices in civil society; they serve as the 'social cement' which unifies a class or group.

Gramsci's insights have become increasingly relevant under the conditions of advanced capitalism, in particular his concept of hegemonic control in civil society. He proposes that those institutions in civil society that are beyond the productive process have a crucial role to play in maintaining and perpetuating the existing order. For Gramsci, hegemonic control is the process whereby the structures in civil society help to maintain an economic system founded on the

exploitation of propertyless labour power. The complex and sophisticated social formation of advanced capitalism uses the organs of civil society effectively in maintaining the status quo; it is because a consensus has been engendered that it is able to resist, incorporate and neutralize protest. Hegemonic control constantly faces challenges from different sections of society, but these protests are often channelled through the mechanisms of hegemonic control.

Gramsci's concept of hegemonic control and the incorporation of counter-hegemonic challenge contributes to an understanding of the opposition between emergent and established educational ideologies. In this sense, radicalised forms of community education which challenge bourgeois hegemony (see Chapter 2.5.) can only exist for any length of time outside the system of formal education. Thus, Gramsci recommended that in a pluralist society education biased in favour of a particular political or religious ideology (i.e., not disinterested) ought to be a function of private provision.

In Entwistle's account of Gramsci's work (1979), he suggests that it is unrealistic to look to schools for a radical counter-hegemonic education; this role lies in adult education where this is linked to struggles in the productive sphere and within working class culture. However, the counter-hegemonic role of the education of adult workers in a vocational context is not realized in Trade Union adult education. Althusser's view of this phenomenon (he included the Trade Union structure within the ISA's) would suggest that the Trade Union studies programme was not counter-hegemonic but represented a sophisticated incorporation of potential protest that operates within the framework of capitalist relations to production and does not seek

to challenge this (Althusser, 1971). Following Westwood's argument in relation to adult education, it is suggested that community education has a capacity to perform a counter-hegemonic role only if it is 're-conceptualized as a cultural field...in which the cultural competence of the working class is as valid as that of the middle class' and if community educators become 'cultural workers' (1980:44). Also, given the changing forms of production and the consequences for the labouring classes, adult education should not only relate to struggles in the productive sphere, but also struggles over consumption.

Although Althusser's ISA's (1971) contributed much to Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemonic control, their respective concepts of 'ideology' differ in important ways (see Larrain, 1979). For Gramsci, ideology is used to signify the world-view of a class, an expression of contradictory reality; it included the idea of an imaginary, distorted consciousness (Gramsci, 1971:376-7). For Althusser, ideology cannot be an imaginary representation of reality because its source is material reality itself: Ideology is 'practised' as a 'lived relation' to the real conditions of existence (Althusser, 1971:233). But the contradiction between Gramsci and Althusser in this respect is more apparent than real, since Althusser did not deny the existence of the imaginary dimension of ideology. He understood it not in the ideological representations themselves, but in the relations to the real that are sustained through ideology.

An understanding of the resolution of this difference and the relationship between the two conceptions is important because 'ideology' is used in both senses (class 'world-view' and 'lived experience') in this study. The former sense is similar to

Althusser's notion of a 'theoretical ideology' formulated in discourse, e.g., as political economy or as bourgeois social science. Theoretical ideologies remain tied to 'practical ideologies' since this is the context from which they derive. In Giddens theory of structuration (1979), he suggests that these two levels of ideological analysis are linked through the notions of domination and power: Discourse is referred to as 'strategic action' and is ideology in its most 'conscious' or superficial form. It involves the use of direct manipulation of communication by those in dominant classes or groups in furthering their sectional interests. However, discourse can be easily penetrated by those who are subjects of its political manipulation. The second level, referred to as 'institutional analysis', shows how 'symbolic orders' sustain forms of domination in the everyday context of lived experience. This more 'buried' form of ideology links the unconscious motives of conduct with the structural forms of domination, i.e., it suggests ways in which domination is concealed as such, while the first level indicates how power is harnessed to conceal the sectional interests of dominant groups (Giddens, 1979:190-193). Giddens' model of ideological analysis has provided a valuable conceptual tool in this research because it distinguishes between, and interrelates, the 'theory' and 'practice' of community education as presented respectively in Part I and Part II of this thesis.

Giddens' concept of ideology (1979) as a mechanism that conceals capitalist class domination and power is also useful in the understanding of the central contradiction in the ideology of holistic education. The ideals and aims of change, freedom and autonomy

expressed in discourse conceal the role of education under capitalism as a producer of a stratified and alienated labour force. In Vinokur's economic analysis of lifelong education (1976), she forecast that within advanced capitalism the social consequences of this form of education for workers in the 'secondary market' would be mainly to increase job dissatisfaction. Yet, these educational objectives of freedom and change are sustained through ideology since they represent the manipulation of communication by dominant groups to further their sectional interests.

3.2.5. From Reproduction to Transformation and Change

Gramsci's qualification of the concept of civil society is valuable in understanding the conflict between the emergent ideology of holistic education, of which community education and community schools are a part, and the established form and ideology of school-based education. Gramsci (1971) argued that ideologies rooted in civil society should not be seen simply as posthumous legitimations of an established power formed historically from material conditions, but should be revalued as potential forces of change capable of contributing to, and collaborating in, the creation of a new ideology and power. Ideologies in civil society are thus seen as performing a 'mediation' role between base and superstructure, a force of intervention in moves towards central control by the state. In this way, the role and influence of agencies and groups rooted in civil society, such as local authorities and the body of community education professionals, are seen as potentially powerful forces in the process of educational change. Their interests can be seen as intermediate between those of the central state, the ruling powers, and those of the 'community',

the subordinate class of consumers.

Although Gramsci and those adopting a mechanistic approach to Marxist analysis (e.g., Bowles and Gintis, 1976) reject the possibility of the school as a site for change or counter-hegemonic challenge (along with idealist notions of liberal reform prevalent in the early sociology of education), other neo-Marxist writers have challenged this position. Simon (1977) argues that this approach neglects to take into account the complexities of the real situation and the variety of forces in civil society which exert counter-pressure on the shaping of the education system and educational policy. It is suggested that such counter-pressures may be seen in the contemporary community school movement and other pressure groups formed within the body of education professionals.

Another criticism of the mechanistic analysis of education and schooling with its emphasis on correspondence theory is that the simple reproduction models employed leave little room for 'forms of resistance' in schools. Johnson made the point that schools not only reproduce ideological conformity, but also resistance:

"...typically, under capitalism, schools seem to reproduce instead of the perfect worker in ideological subjection, much more the worker as bearer of the characteristic antagonisms of the social formation as a whole. Schools, in other words, reproduce forms of resistance too, however limited or 'corporate' or unselfconscious these may be." (Johnson, 1979:52)

In relation to community schools, forms of resistance may be conceptualized as non-participation, articulate opposition and inarticulate opposition (e.g., apathy) on the part of its pupils and the local community.

Like Johnson, the American sociologist Giroux (1980) argues that the

production of knowledge, of ideology, cannot be assigned purely to the work of external forces since meanings are produced, transformed, reproduced and challenged within the school. Arnot and Whitty (1981) summarise Giroux's criticisms as follows:

"In short, the undialectical nature of ideology in the correspondence theory does not illuminate how ideological hegemony is mediated both within and between schools and other ideological institutions. More specifically, it does not speak to how the dominant ideology is often resisted, rejected and redefined by the set of meanings that students and teachers carry around with them. Consequently, this posture 'not only leaves teachers completely flattened and speechless, but it is likely to reinforce the idea that radical change is beyond their frames of reference...' Even contradictions such as those often found between the content of what is being taught and the classroom social relations in use are overlooked by the correspondence. Ultimately, such a theoretical flaw points not only to a truncated notion of ideology and the social construction of meaning, it also points to a one-dimensional view of domination and an overly passive view of human beings." (Giroux, 1980 in Arnot and Whitty, 1981:7)

The new critiques of theories of social and cultural reproduction in education, outlined by Arnot and Whitty (1981), emphasise the factors that Willis argued for in 'Learning to Labour' (1977) and the more optimistic possibilities for radical pedagogical and political interventions that his work revealed. Willis suggested that the moment of cultural production by the 'Lads' should not be seen as inevitably feeding into the process of reproduction, but rather as a possible basis for transformative interventions. Although this new approach to the sociology of education, developed in the United States, recognises the hegemonic nature of schooling, it lays a strong emphasis on the dialectics of domination and resistance, structure and action, and the opportunities for social transformation through the production of meanings. Apple (1980) argues that because control systems (e.g., work and school cultures) presuppose forms of conflict, of covert and overt resistance, it is this 'contestation' within the social relations of production and between class cultures, reproduced

through schooling, that needs to be recognised.

These new radical critiques of social and cultural reproduction theories contribute to the conceptualization of conflict in relation to community education/schooling if regarded as a new form of control in advanced capitalist society. The emphasis on the dialectics of domination and resistance, reproduction and transformation, highlight the possibilities for conflict between the contradictory cultures of school and community to take on transformative qualities in a certain set of circumstances.

Before going on to formulate more clearly the focus for conflict in this study of the community school, it is important and necessary to examine the situations of conflict within this field as it has been represented in the existing research and literature on community education and community schools.

3.3. A REVIEW OF CONFLICT AND THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Conflict is a recurring theme in the existing empirical research and literature on community schools and community education in Great Britain. As suggested in the previous sections, conflict is suggested to be closely linked to the fundamental oppositions between 'school' and 'community' educational ideas and practices, a contradiction which is exacerbated in the situation of the community school where the two educations co-exist. A review of the literature revealed that the conflicts could be classified as three inter-related areas:

1. Ideological oppositions which were related to the differing conceptualizations of education and schooling held by individuals and groups.
2. Political conflicts which were focused on the antagonisms between the prevailing socio-political institutions and agencies of the established professional-centred forms of education and schooling and those trying to be developed by community educators.
3. Technical disputes which were related to the practical difficulties of running and managing an experimental form of 'open' education within the 'closed' institutional/ administrative framework of a traditional secondary school.

In the following section, the reported experiences of conflicts, oppositions and tensions in community schools and community education are examined using the above categories. Through this review, it is hoped to explore and clarify the focus for 'conflict' in this research.

3.3.1. Ideological conflicts

Ideological conflicts experienced by community schools are mainly concerned with the constraints imposed by the dominant ideology of education as a 'standardised, homogenised and centralised process' (Dave, 1976: 362) and as something that goes on in schools, under the direction of teachers and confined to certain specified age groups (Cropley, 1976).

In the previous section, it was seen that, in sociological terms, the functions of schooling in advanced industrial/capitalist societies are seen as socialisation and social and cultural reproduction. Thus,

schools are generally accepted as upholding and supporting, rather than challenging, dominant cultural values and definitions and the above conceptualisation of education is reinforced. This image of the school provides the basis upon which most people's expectations of the community school are built, but it is one that is antagonistic to the ideology of community education and its aim to develop positive attitudes and motivations to education as a process occurring throughout life and as an integral part of it (Schwarz, 1974; Janne, 1976). Hence, the ideology of education fostered by the present school system is seen by Flude and Parrot as a primary constraint on the implementation of any system of 'lifelong learning' in Britain (1979: 67-8).

Ideological oppositions are also expressed frequently in terms of the dilemma of the professional community educators concerning whether they could, or should, act as a catalyst of social change: whether they should endeavour to develop individuals capable of making critical and 'responsible choices' in a changing world, or whether they should respond to the current pressures of qualifications, employment and production and thereby assist in the process of adjustment and integration into prevailing socio-economic conditions (Maclure, 1973; Janne, 1976; Fletcher, 1980; Brewster & Whiteford, 1978/9). According to Janne, this ideological dilemma represents 'a fundamental choice between two value systems' and 'involves the very nature of power' because it hinges on the question of whether education is 'to condition man or free him', whether 'the power of man' or 'the power of the social system' prevails (1976: 166). This dilemma of 'choice' for professional community educators was also

pinpointed by Shaul in his introduction to Friere's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (1972):

"Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of younger generations into the logic of the present system, bringing about conformity to it, or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world." (Shaul, 1972)

It has already been stressed that community schools and community educators are associated with the liberal ideology of 'freedom', 'individualism' and education for 'change', regarding this as a force capable of contributing to and sustaining progressive social change in a period of socio-economic transformation (Council of Europe, 1973; Midwinter, 1975; Halsey, 1972; Lovett, 1975; Beasley, 1980; Wilson, 1981). However, the adoption of this ideological stance has implications for the introduction of innovations within, and by, community schools. As Skrimshire points out, 'change' requires to be negotiated, not only with the local education authority and within the school staff, but also in relation to groups in the community, if, as intended, formal and informal accountability is to be developed between school and community (1981: 60). It is not surprising then that where such democratization is attempted, the confrontation and contestation between educational ideologies is a problem often encountered by community schools.

On the issue of 'resistance' by the local community, the community school and its professional staff, as 'agents of change', have often advocated that a strategy of conflict is adopted (Halsey, 1972; Lovett, 1979). This was noted by Halsey in the context of the EPA community schools:

"Historically, the teacher has been cast as the defender of the status quo and, indeed, the one found culpable if social unrest... threatens. EPA community education, as an element of community development, is about moving on, not standing still. It's about the formation of social personalities with the attributes of constructive discontent. It's about children who are made eager apprentices of community life. It presumes that an Educational Priority Area should be radically reformed and that its children, as junior citizens, should be forewarned and forearmed for the struggle." (Halsey, 1972: 195)

The liberal ideology of 'change' and 'participation' , which stresses the importance of developing the 'social' individual, 'constructive discontent' and 'moving on', often confronts resistance on the part of the community in the sense of a general lack of enthusiasm and apathy to such changes (Green,1977).

In addition to passive resistance, there have been a number of instances in the history of the community school movement where the local community have resisted more actively. The problem of local hostility to the introduction of this new form of 'social' education by community schools provided the subject of an article by Ree (1979). He cites the Countesthorpe Community College in Leicestershire, the Sutton Centre in Nottinghamshire, and Small Heath School and Community Centre in Birmingham as examples of community schools which have met with overt hostility from local residents and the local press and were subsequently subjected to official Inquiries by the Her Majesty's Inspectorate. On the whole, the fears and reservations expressed by local residents were not, on the whole, supported by the H.M.I., but rather it supported the community school's innovative organisations and educational programmes. In this way, the H.M.I. allied themselves more closely with the educational interests and commitments of the schools' management, than with those of the local communities.

Local, especially parental, opposition to community schools are

usually directed against innovations, or incidents, that occur within the formal schooling component of the school's programme (e.g., curricular changes, examination reforms and new forms of discipline). Ree (1979) explained such local opposition in terms of the community's lack of awareness and understanding of the long term aims of the community school. His recognition of the contrasting ideologies and interests of parents and community school teachers on the issue of schooling was expressed in more general terms in the Schools Council Enquiry on 'Young School Leavers':

"It is evident that... conflict and misunderstanding may arise between the short-term viewpoint of parents... who are concerned with starting work in the immediate future, and the long term objectives of teachers who see their responsibility as preparing pupils for the whole of their future lives." (H.M.S.O., 1968)

The conflicting perspectives of parents and teachers was also noted in surveys of community schools undertaken by Elsey and Thomas (1976) and Kirkwood (1979). The value of the 'social' elements in the schools' curricula was seen by parents to be secondary to the more serious academic aims of their children's schooling.

Traditional formal schooling and vocational education is, thus, of paramount concern to the local community, particularly parents, and it is largely the perceived neglect of this aspect that has provided the primary basis for ideological oppositions between school and community. By contrast, innovations introduced in community schools relating to non-statutory education, recreation and community development appear to have aroused relatively few tensions between school and community. This may be due to either the community's perception of these activities as separate from the formal schooling of children, or to an agreement/ignorance concerning the community-

leisure dimensions of the community school's programme. But there is relatively little research evidence concerning this aspect of community education and schooling.

In summary, the ideological conflicts between school and community are focused on the professional community educators' liberal ideology of promoting 'change', both in education itself and in the local community's attitudes to education and, as a corollary of these, in convincing local people that they need change. Resistance by the community (both passive and active) to such change, is based on their ideological support for traditional academic forms of schooling.

In relation to the community school-local authority and inter-staff tensions accruing from the community school acting as an agent of change, conflicts are found in the introduction of community education workers into a working environment that is traditionally the domain of school teachers. These two professional groups have contrasting backgrounds, in terms of their training and styles of working, and these are often found to be in opposition in a community school (Maclure, 1973; Nisbet et al, 1981). An often-quoted example of these intra-professional tensions is summarised in the Stimpson Committee's Report on 'Non-Teaching Staff in Secondary Schools':

"Although both the teacher and the community worker are trained to work with young people, they operate in different situations and under different constraints. The teachers' main encounter with the child takes place at school and attendance at school is compulsory. The teacher of necessity, operates within a complex framework of constraints - the timetable, the syllabus, physical accommodation, staffing complements, examinations and expectations of the child, his parents and his prospective employers. All of these factors mould the relationship between pupil and teacher. On the other hand, the Youth and Community Workers relationships depends on a voluntary response... Even when that response is well established, it is fundamentally of a voluntary and informal nature... Herein can lie a source of misunderstanding and even conflict." (HMSO, 1976: para 5.7)

Some community schools have attempted to resolve the teacher-community worker antagonism by combining the two roles, so that teachers also act as community workers and community workers assist in teaching. However, according to Smith and Smith (1974: 186-198), rather than achieving the integration of roles, the pressures and inflexibility of the teachers' statutory schooling obligations, compared with the community worker's flexibility, incur the danger of the teachers' commitments multiplying to stressful levels.

A further dimension of the antagonism between school and community-based professionals and their differing styles of working concerns the community worker acting as mediator between local groups and the local authorities in community development work (Maclure, 1973; Skrimshire, 1981). Skrimshire, for example, referred to instances of this intra-professional tension :

"This work is likely sooner or later to bring them into the situation of appearing to generate conflict with the employing authority and even with the school management... In place of an overt confrontation among interest groups in the 'community', there appears to be merely a confrontation among professionals in the institution." (1981: 61)

These conflicts between school-community and between professionals working within a community school's educational environment indicate ideological antagonisms between the established ideology of education and schooling as supporting and reproducing dominant cultural values and the liberal ideology of education and schooling as an agent of change in the existing social and educational order. However, this is not to imply that all schools calling themselves 'community schools' adopt the latter political stance. For this reason, Nisbet et al (1981:111) drew the distinction between 'marginal' and 'radical'

interpretations of the community school concept: The former merely supplements the existing system of school education by introducing 'marginal' reforms (e.g. in developing stronger links between school and community) and thus presents no challenge to the existing system of educational provision, but denotes only 'slow, incremental movement'. The 'marginal' interpretation most often refers to the 'neighbourhood' schools, community colleges and other dual-use schemes (Jones, 1978). The latter 'radical' interpretation regards community education as 'redefining the whole educational process' and thus presents a challenge to the established educational ideology and forms of provision. The 'radical' interpretation is usually initiated (but not necessarily realized) through the integration of school and community provision in multi-purpose institutions.

The wide range of interpretations of the community school concept in practice is indicative of an uncertainty within the politico-professional body of educators concerning the role and aims of the community school within the existing education system. This intra-professional debate was noted by Raggat:

"Ten years after Plowden there is still much enthusiasm for the notion of community schools, but no consensus has emerged about its appropriate form... Is it, for example, to be a resource centre available to residents when not needed by the school, or is it to be a place which 'seeks to obliterate the boundary between school and community', to turn the community into a school, and the school into a community? What part should the community play in the control of the school? Should they have responsibility for setting the aims of the school, for considering the means by which they are pursued, for keeping under review the school's progress towards them, and for deciding upon action to facilitate such progress?.."(Raggat, 1979: 84)

Competition between 'school' and 'community' educational ideologies in the context of the community school has focused attention on two areas of conflict:

- i) Within the body of educationalists, both professional and political. This includes oppositions and tensions in and between local authorities and professional staff working in community schools.
- 11) Between school and community, when there is a confrontation between the different ideas and practices of school education held by the 'progressive community school staff and groups in the local community.

3.3.2. Political Conflicts

Attempts to enfranchise the local community 'within the affairs, activities and decision-making processes of the school' were signalled by central government's Taylor Report (1977) on 'A New Partnership For Our Schools', commissioned at a time when public confidence in secondary schools was low (Raggat, 1979). Other moves which are indicative of the desire by the local state to strengthen the links between school and community can be seen in the increasing community use of school premises, joint or integrated school-community provision and the development of 'community' aspects of school curricula (Jones, 1978: 6-13). On the part of schools themselves, the school-community relationship has been encouraged to develop in more informal ways with a natural focus on the interests of parents, such as the development of home-school links, pastoral care and increasing accountability (Skrimshire, 1981: 56; Benn & Simon, 1970).

This general trend in schooling has been developed to a much greater

extent by community schools where a reciprocal school-community relationship is central to its liberal-reformist ideology of 'improving' society. In Maclure's terms, this aspect of community schools:

"aims to exploit the mutual dependence of the school and the community in the interest both of good education and the health of community life." (1973:13)

However, there is evidence to suggest that the development of a reciprocal relationship between school and community is problematic owing to the contradiction between idealist attempts by community schools/educators to enfranchise the local community and the political realities of power-sharing.

There are a number of examples in the literature on community schools concerning the difficulties encountered in democratic power-sharing within a professional-centred educational environment. In a study of community involvement in leisure activities in a community school, Haworth (1979) concluded that:

'...the influence of conceptions, attitudes, values and commitments of staff and elected members in the local authority and at the Centre significantly affected the community's power to make decisions" (1979: 75).

Similarly, the research study of community schools in Coventry concluded that for the teaching profession, trained in the unequal teacher-pupil relationship, the ability to transfer to a non-hierarchical role and learn the skills of negotiating with 'lay' groups in the community was problematic especially when representing interests that were seen to oppose their own as teachers (Skrimshire, 1981, 60).

Recent research on the operation of School Councils in Scotland

(Macbeth et al, 1980) indicated again the constraints on public participation in these formal decision-making structures, particularly in relation to the effective devolution of power from professional groups. Control over the agenda, the topics discussed and executive powers were found to remain under the control of school professional staff and local authority representatives. For example, in 1975/76 only 6%, and in 1976/77 only 11.5%, of issues discussed by School Councils related to core educational matters (Macbeth et al, 1977: 3). This indicates the restricted nature of the enfranchisement of the 'lay' community into the body of effective educational decision-makers.

The community schools research project in the Grampian Region pinpointed the same problem of power-sharing in the decision-making process, but expressed it as a problem of 'inter-personal relationships', both within the community school itself and between school and community (Nisbet et al, 1981). This explanation fails to identify the political nature of the problem, i.e., the tendency for professional groups to maintain their position as 'definers' of knowledge. The tendency for community representatives to legitimate the structures of domination inherent in professionalism was shown in their attitude of 'letting the professionals get on with their own job' (Nisbet et al, 1981:107).

Jones (1978) and Brewster and Brewster (1979) argued that the domination of professional groups in community schools extends to the definition of local 'need', exemplified in their construction and implementation of community education programmes. The predefinition of the aims of community schools by professional groups without prior

consultation with local residents led Maclure (1973) to conclude that the notion of 'community' itself is defined by the authorities:

"The institution itself creates it's own community, those whose needs it most effectively serves."(1973:15)

Much of the literature and research on the issue of public participation in planning is similarly imbued with scepticism and disillusionment concerning its effective implementation within the existing professional-dominated power structures (Goodman, 1972; Ardel, 1974; Bowden, 1975; Crompton, 1975; Gladstone, 1975). For example, the overall viability of community participation was criticised by Crompton (1975) and Ardel (1974) on the grounds of the economic inefficiency, i.e., the extra professionals' time taken up in the negotiation of innovations through a slow process of involving and persuading 'traditionalist' local people.

In this respect, power-sharing in formal decision-making structures is seen to constitute a significant dimension of conflict and the community schools; it indicates the political reality of the ideals of local participation and community control in these educational experiments. On the one hand, there is the problem of balancing the representation of different local, professional and political groups in the decision-making structures, and, on the other hand, there is the problem of the effectiveness of the participatory bodies which are only marginally concerned with the realities of power and power-sharing (Raggatt, 1979; Department of Social and Administrative Studies, 1980: ch.20; Nisbet et al, 1980: 122). Skrimshire (1981) concluded that the major problem in terms of local participation in decision-making for community schools is, therefore, how to recruit

the effective commitment and support of the community when the power participated in appeared to be 'illusory'.

The 'opening up' of the school and education to the community in terms of participation in learning also brings the political problem of power-sharing in the definition of 'knowledge'. Ideally, the role of the professional community educator is to 'hand over' the education process to the community 'as far as possible'. In McConnell's terms, this means:

"Do as little as possible oneself; allow the community to do as much as possible for itself. The community is encouraged to learn by, firstly, DOING; secondly, ACHIEVING; and thirdly, TEACHING OTHERS."(McConnell, 1979)

Within the community education approach, participation in learning is based on Friere's concept of learning as a 'dialogue' between learners/educator. The content of what is learned is defined by the learners, but is organised, systematised and developed by the professional who then re-presents it to the students (Friere, 1972).

However, this ideological model of the 'demystification' of the professional and the democratization of learning does not necessarily redefine what constitutes 'knowledge'. According to sociological theories of reproduction, discussed in the previous section, the community learners would be expected to legitimise the cultural values of dominant groups/classes in their definition of what constitutes their educational 'needs' and useful 'knowledge'. This tendency has been demonstrated in educational surveys designed by community schools which typically identify educational needs in terms of conventional adult educational provision (Wester Hailes Education Centre, 1978;

Elsey and Thomas, 1976). As long as the definition of knowledge or, more generally, cultural capital remains the prerequisite of professional groups in community education (in terms of defining both the content of such education and the organization and presentation of educational materials), the ability of the community to share in these definitions will only serve to legitimise the ideology of dominant groups. Thus, Brewster and Whiteford (1978/79) concluded that the assumption of community education that the 'demystification of the expert' and 'participation in learning' will bring about social change, should be revalued towards an examination of:

"the content of professional knowledge as well as the extent to which this content is (still) defined by a minority who have appropriated the means of educational production" (1978/9: 20).

The political dimension of conflict and the community school has highlighted the problems of 'power-sharing' in decision-making and the learning process. These problems are related to the contradiction between the ideological nature of these 'progressive' educational experiments and the realities of power relations within advanced capitalist society. It has focused the area of potential conflict on the antagonistic basis of the school-community alliance in terms of inequitable 'power' relations between school and community. Referring to the political constraints on the development of the school-community relationship by community schools, Skrimshire concluded:

"...if the connection is tenuous or artificial, however well justified the theory, the expansion of the (community school) concept will cause intolerable stress." (1981: 61).

3.3.3. Technical Conflicts

The introduction of the 'open' principles of community education within the traditionally 'closed' institution of a school has encountered a number of technical problems in the management of community schools. The terms 'open' and 'closed' were originally applied to community education by Nisbet (1978). He drew a parallel between the informal style of organisation of community education with Popper's pluralist and egalitarian notion of an 'open society' (1973). The concept of a 'closed society' was viewed by Nisbet as similar to the formal institution of a traditional secondary school.

Conflicts have been found to arise when formal and informal styles of educational organisation are brought together within the institution of the community school and the professionals responsible have little experience or training in the management of conflict, either in a constructive way or in relation to the outside community (Nisbet, 1978). Traditionally, schools have relied on a hierarchy of authority to maintain internal control and to contain controversy and conflict. For example, it is commonly held among sociologists of education that the teacher-pupil relationship involves, to varying degrees, a fundamental conflict based on teachers' attempts to enforce their definitions on pupils (Reid, 1978: 93). Waller (1932) explained this conflict situation in terms of the hierarchical structure of the 'formal' institution:

"The teacher-pupil relationship is a form of institutionalised dominance and subordination... The teacher represents the established social order in the school and his interest is in maintaining that order, whereas pupils have only a negative interest in that feudal superstructure." (Waller, 1932: 195 - 6)

The attempt to redefine the traditional authority-based role of the

teacher in community schools through the adoption of informal and participatory methods of control in the school's organisation and operation have focused a number of technical problems on the management of conflict in a community school. There is a recognition of the need for formal mechanisms of conflict resolution (e.g. School Councils, Committees and Sub-Committees) as well as informal methods (e.g., staff training) by this 'open' form of education. For example, the problem of 'conflict management' was a recurring theme at the Second Annual Study Conference of the Community Education Association in 1979.

The combined and competing commitment to 'school' and 'community' education underpins another technical problem for community schools. The aim to apportion equal priority to school and community activities, both in terms of professionals time and the allocation and use of resources has often proved unsuccessful in reality. The voluntary basis of community provision and the statutory nature of school education has inevitably meant that the competition for resources is on an unequal footing (Liddle and Mercer, 1980; Maclean and Martin, 1979). Nisbet et al (1980) cite a number of examples of friction between school and community users over the sharing and use of equipment and accommodation and over the contentious issue of responsibility for their care and maintenance. Difficulties in the technical operation of the ideal of integration and partnership between the competing statutory 'school' and non-statutory 'community' sectors of local authority services provides another illustration of this conflict. For example, in a report prepared by a group of Scottish Headteachers working in community-use schools it was stated

that:

"The most efficient use of schools will be achieved where the expertise of the Community Education service and Departments of Recreation and Leisure can be combined with the experience, education and organisational skills of the secondary school in a positive and harmonious working partnership. At present these services frequently work in isolation from one another and there is little doubt that this is a factor inhibiting the development of the use of schools by the community, whether as individuals or members of community groups." (Headteachers Association of Scotland, 1979).

It appears that the competition between school and community educations has become more acute in the present period of financial constraint by local authorities when 'community' resources and provision are in danger of being 'cut', or made subordinate to, 'school' provision (Gulbenkian Foundation, 1982)

In addition, the centralisation tendency of the school institution itself, in terms of the location of resources and activities, is seen by Maclean and Martin (1979) and Kelvyn Richards (1980) to be antagonistic with the decentralised, 'outreach' approach favoured by community education . This was also noted by Skrimshire in relation to community schools:

"There is an in-built resistance to shifting the balance of resources and staffing towards an expanded role in an off-site community" (1981: 60).

In the Scottish context, the Regional Education Authority has responsibility for both 'school' and 'community' educations. The competition between these services has been described in different ways by Gilroy (1976), Maclean and Martin (1979), Cowper (1979) and Liddle and Mercer (1980). However, this rivalry has become accentuated with the introduction of community schools which straddle the two local authority educational services. According to Kirkwood's study of the introduction of community schools into Scotland (1979), community

educators were opposed to the new forms of school-based community education, arguing that they posed a threat to a community-based service by soaking up valuable resources within an institution which had a well-defined role as a 'school', was a relatively inflexible plant, and had a tendency towards on-site provision.

The technical dimensions of conflict and the community school have tended to focus on management issues in the attempt to resolve antagonisms between 'school' and 'community' education in struggles over resources. The formal school institution itself and its large and complex organisational framework has been seen to present a major problem for innovation and change in education (Schwarz, 1974; Janne, 1976; Wilson, 1981).

3.4. THE FOCUS FOR 'CONFLICT' IN THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY SCHOOL

In this section, the aim is to isolate and define more clearly the focus for conflict in the situation of a community school for the fieldwork stage of the research and, thence, to identify groups within the educational environment of a community school related to this analysis of conflict.

In the previous section, the review of the ideological, political and technical oppositions, antagonisms and contradictions apparent in the present-day reality of the community school, as implemented within the formal system of educational provision, served to pinpoint the notion of conflict for the purposes of the study of community education in practice. It became increasingly evident that situations of conflict

related to the community school were focused on two main areas:

1) Intra-professional: This refers to the struggles within the body of politico-professional educationalists where conflict is seen primarily in terms of the contestation between educational ideologies occurring in a period of educational 'crisis' precipitated by changes in the forms of production in advanced capitalism. This body can be located among the dominant groups in civil society in that they have power (direct or indirect) in, and responsibility for, educational innovations and policy-making; its members exercise some control over the provision and distribution of 'educational resources', where these take the form of cultural facilities, skills, information and/or knowledge. In relation to a community school, this group includes teachers, community workers, local authority officials and administrators and local/national politicians.

2) Between school and community: Conflict on this level can be seen as based upon the differing politico-economic power and social relations to (educational) production between school and community. In one sense, oppositions between school and community can be seen in terms of 'class conflict', where 'classes' are defined, in the Marxist sense, primarily in the economic sphere (structured around the capital/wage labour relation), but are also infused with political and ideological elements. Individual class members are defined as 'agents' of particular social relations to production, where these are lived, expressed and practised in the form of ideology. In another, but closely related, sense, the school-community conflict denotes one between 'providers' and 'consumers' of educational resources, where the former defines what resources should be consumed by the latter.

In relation to school-community conflicts, it is important to distinguish between the concept of 'school' as (a) an instrument of political and ideological hegemony within the state system of reproduction and which represents certain clearly defined roles and expectations for the community, and (b) as an active collectivity, the members of which have 'power' (both conscious and unconscious) to challenge, resist, and reject forms of domination.

In section 3.4.3., these notions of conflict are discussed in relation to the concept of 'interests' in order to qualify the idea that each of the above groups necessarily express a homogeneity of wants or needs by virtue of their membership to that group.

3.4.1. Intra-Professional Conflicts

As noted earlier, intra-professional conflicts centred on the community school are seen primarily in terms of ideological oppositions between representatives of competing 'school' and 'community' educations. It is suggested that the emergence and influence of the 'community' educational ideology amongst sections of the politico-professional group has occurred for several reasons:

- i) As an educational response to the challenge presented to the established educational forms by rapidly changing socio-economic conditions and the adjustment problems consequent to those.
- ii) As a response from a disenchanted section of the professional education community to a new and challenging set of ideas and methods.
- iii) As a struggle for power, resources and professional status by the

'cinderella' or 'poor cousin' sector (Newman, 1979) of the education service, i.e. the non-statutory Adult and Community Education services.

All these factors combined represent challenges to the dominant ideology and established forms of school-based education.

Thomas Kuhn's notion of 'paradigm' and 'paradigm revolution' (1962 and 1970) were originally adopted as a valuable framework for explaining intra-professional tensions and conflicts in the process of educational reform. However, the usefulness and applicability of the Kuhnian thesis to education, and to the social sciences generally, has been found to be severely limited for a number of reasons.

The Kuhnian concept of 'paradigm' leads to a consensus view of the framework in which educational activity proceeds and, thereby, neglects to take into account either the disagreement, debate and competition within the professional education 'community' concerning the ideas and practices of education, or the influence of productive forces and politico-economic interests in the formulation of educational 'solutions'. For example, the use of the term 'community' assumes that the body of professional practitioners is a homogeneous group by virtue of a shared theoretical perspective. These problems stem from Kuhn's thesis being exclusively concerned with describing the growth of knowledge in the natural sciences (1970: 52). The question of whether natural and social scientific 'knowledges' are synonymous is a highly contentious issue. For example, they are highly questionable propositions that the social sciences are a means of discovering new phenomena and that social scientists are a group of

efficient 'puzzle', or problem, solvers (Harvey, 1973) in which the 'right' answer will be agreed upon by all members.

Accordingly, Bird (1977 and 1978) argued that the Kuhnian model is too simplistic when applied to the social sciences. Kuhn argued that 'paradigm revolutions' arise out of anomalies in explanations and the inability of the existing paradigm to solve longstanding problems. These difficulties lead to a 'crisis', a period that is followed by revolution and the adoption of a new paradigm. This notion has been used by educationalists to describe the changing emphases in research methodology (Parlett and Hamilton, 1976), policy (McConnell, 1979), and models (Houghton and Richardson, 1974). However, Whitty (1974) argues that the application of the concept of paradigm to changes in educational perspectives hides the continuities in these and thus enables the presentation of minor modifications in pedagogy as evidence of educational change.

Wheeler's criticisms of the interpretation of Kuhn's thesis by geographers (1980) as a 'prescriptive', rather than a descriptive, form of analysis is also relevant to its application to education. Thus, Parlett and Hamilton (1976) call for an 'illuminative' approach to curriculum evaluation and Houghton and Richardson (1974) advocate a recurrent model of education. Wheeler argues that such 'prescriptive interpretations of Kuhn's model may lead to expectations of revolutionary progress' (1980: 2), whereas, in reality, such an orderly progression of paradigm-crisis-revolution-new paradigm is indiscernible in contemporary social science. For example, the exposure of 'anomalies', or contradictions, in educational policy (e.g. the comprehensive schooling solution to the problem of

educational inequality) have not led to the rejection of the established 'paradigm' of selective secondary schooling.

In addition to these critiques of Kuhn's schema on the grounds of continuity, it is important to stress the politico-economic dimension of intra-professional ideological conflicts. According to Wright (1978), political and economic factors are central to the changes in educational approaches and policies. However, arguments for the adoption of new approaches, expressed in educational discourse, are presented in terms of ideals and intended consequences rather than their proven ability to solve the problems raised by previous forms. Yet, these problems (e.g., inequality, unemployment) are often not ones that could be 'solved' by education since they are not rooted in the economic base of the capitalist mode of production.

These criticisms of Kuhn's model of paradigm revolution in scientific knowledge suggested as more valuable the adoption of a theoretical framework based on the concepts outlined in section 3.2. for the understanding and explanation of ideological conflict and oppositions within the politico-professional body of educationalists. Within this theoretical approach, the 'paradigm shift' is not conceptualized in Kuhn's simple 'revolutionary' terms, but as a complex dialectical process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. A dialectical interpretation of intra-professional conflicts between educational ideologies posits that the oppositions and struggles between contradictory elements of the competing ideologies denote an historical movement towards the accentuation of contradiction, leading to 'crises'. Therborn argues that oppositions and contradictions become exacerbated in periods of transformations in the

economic base and this necessitates the generation of new 'economic positional' ideologies (1980: 42). In this sense, holistic education might be regarded as a new economic positional ideology for education within the conditions of advanced capitalism.

It was stressed earlier in section 3.1. that the antithesis between competing 'school' and 'community' ideologies should not be considered as absolute since both find a common focus for their educational concerns in the control of 'youth', and both co-exist within the existing education system. However, understanding the process of ideological 'incorporation', as well as examining the evidence of conflict and contradiction, are areas that are seen to warrant further investigation.

There is one sense in which Kuhn's concept of 'paradigm revolution' remains useful in the analysis of intra-professional conflict. Kuhn, following Popper (1959), recognised the importance of inconsistency and contradictions in scientific theory in the development of 'crises': periods in the 'normal' phase of paradigm development when the fallability of the established paradigm is recognised within the body of professional practitioners at the same time as another paradigm is seen to be able to offer strong competition. It was argued in section 3.1 that a 'crisis' period is apparent in the contemporary debate on education. Pressures for reforms in education and schooling have arisen in the context of changing socio-economic conditions. At the same time, the ideology of holistic education, developed peripheral to the formal system of educational provision, is seen by some within the group of professional educationalists to offer a better approach to problems that have remained unresolved by the

established modes of provision. It is suggested that this critical period of ideological contestation marks a point at which intra-professional conflicts (an enduring situation, varying only in intensity) will escalate.

Defining the concept of ideology as a 'world-view' of a class/group, as noted earlier, it is suggested that in periods when there is no significant challenge to the dominant ideology of schooling from within the professional body educationalists (this is what Kuhn terms the 'normal' period of paradigm development), the ideological configuration of the politico-professional group will comprise a core matrix of shared assumptions, beliefs and values, as well as a disputed area (conflict). This 'normal' ideological formation is represented in diagrammatic form in Figure 3.2. However, during a 'crisis' period (Figure 3.3.), it is suggested that the ideological configuration of this group will involve an expansion of the area of dispute (intra-professional conflict) consequent upon a 'division in the ranks' when the efficacy of the dominant ideology is questioned. This entails a significant reduction in the core matrix of shared perceptions. Yet, this residual area of educational beliefs might be expected to be incorporated within any 'new' ideology that is subsequently formulated, giving continuity to any new educational forms.

This model of ideological opposition and change in education, applied to the context of a community school, would be expected to parallel the latter 'crisis' stage of ideological configuration (Figure 3.3.). The professionals that are responsible for the implementation of the community school experiment might be expected to embrace many elements

A MODEL OF THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFIGURATION OF THE POLITICO- PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION GROUP

FIG. 3.2. 'Normal' period

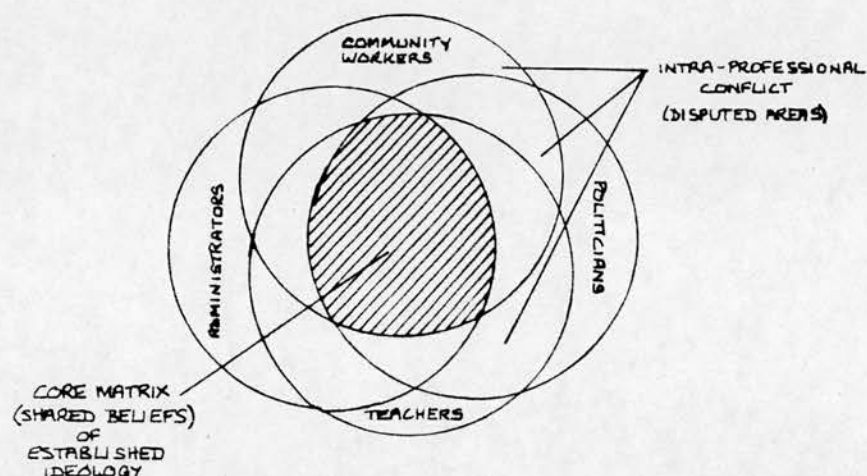
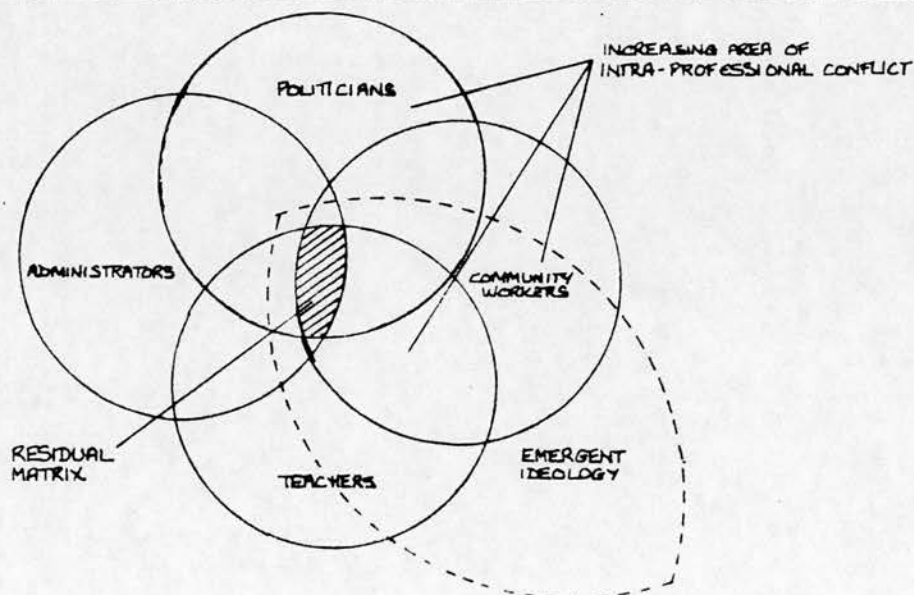


FIG. 3.3. 'Crisis' period



of the new 'community' ideology, while other professionals in the research setting might be expected to retain a stronger commitment to the dominant 'schooling' ideology.

Through a study of intra-professional conflict in the situation of a community school, it is hoped to gain a clearer understanding of the process of opposition and contradiction between educational ideologies, given that this school-based form of community education represents a conjuncture of competing forms of education.

The aim here is to investigate the areas of conflict and contradiction between ideas that are seen as central to the emergent ideology of community education (i.e., 'education', 'leisure', 'school' and 'community') as understood by members of the politico-professional body of educationalists working within the educational environment of a community school. In doing this, it will be important to try and distinguish between elements of what Williams (1976) termed the 'residual' and 'emergent' (educational) cultures in order to indicate which elements become incorporated within the effective dominant culture. In this way, key areas of questioning might be: What elements comprise the 'residual' matrix (i.e. are derived from the dominant 'schooling' ideology)? What elements of the emergent 'community' educational ideology are presented in the arguments and claims of the politico-professional educational group? What elements are not expressed? What elements are specific to certain groups, and which groups? How do individuals group together according to their ideological positions? Do individual's ideological positions bear any relation to their politico-economic positions within the local education authority or other 'social' criteria?

3.4.2. School-Community Conflicts

The aim to develop a reciprocal and 'self-generating' relationship between school-community and professional - learner is central to the ideals and aims of community schooling and community education (Maclure, 1973; OECD, 1975; Council of Europe, 1977). It has been argued that the centrality of this alliance to the ideology of holistic education is related to the politico-economic need in advanced capitalist societies for the expansion and integration of education as a cultural process incorporating a wider range of material activities (e.g., the home, family, leisure, community) at a time when:

- i) The institution of the workplace is playing a declining role in the lives of the working class, given the transformation of the forms of production from mechanisation to automation (Emery and Trist, 1972; Sherman, 1980; Entwistle, 1981) which increasingly displaces the need for manual and unskilled labour power.
- ii) The institution of secondary schooling enters a 'crisis' as the employment 'contract' between pupil and school breaks down (Husen, 1979; Jenkins and Sherman, 1981).

The functions of control, integration and reproduction that these 'collapsing' material structures perform require redefinition and reformulation as important agencies of hegemony within the ideological superstructure of capitalist societies. Thus, community education and schooling, as part of the 'new forms of control', focus attention primarily on exactly those 'problem' groups (i.e. the unemployed, especially young people, the 'disadvantaged', those living in

'deprived' areas, and those least affected by existing formal educational provision) who are most affected by the material and social transformations of advanced capitalism.

The issue of how to develop a relationship with, and secure the support and participation of, the community has presented a continual problem for the professional community educators working both within and outside the school setting (Sussman and Speck, 1973; Poster, 1977; Haworth and Mason, 1979). The typical strategy is to encourage members of the community, or local working class people, to participate in informal learning and group activities, and thereby to improve the quality of life of their local community and promote 'change' within it. Individuals and local groups are called upon to educate themselves, with the aid of professionals, but in ways appropriate to adjustment to life in advanced capitalist society. This strategy finds many parallels with Johnson's interpretation of the politico-economic motives underlying the popular liberal alliance led by the educational reformer, Henry Brougham, in the 1820s and later in the 1860s (1976: 51).

The motives underlying the attempts by professional community educators to recruit the support of the community may be seen as:

- i) Their need for this new form of education to be legitimised within, and by, the community.
- ii) Their need for the community's support in the struggle for educational reform. This 'populist' alliance would add political substance to their pressures for community education to be adopted as an active component in the reform of the existing

system of education and schooling.

These motives provide a link between the two levels of school-community and intra-professional conflicts. In addition, the recent moves to integrate school and community indicate that the conflicts related to community schooling not only involve the politico-professional education body, but also:

"...the mass of the population is centrally involved since this is where their children are educated" (Simon, 1977: 44).

From an historical materialist perspective, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies referred to the conflict between school and community as:

"... struggles over schooling from which children and adolescents are excluded and in which the figure of the parent carries the full weight of popular interests... it is their consent, on behalf of their children, which is won or lost" (CCCS, 1981: 26)

Given the political significance of the wider community, especially parents, their support is crucial in securing and arbitrating in the successful emergence of the new educational ideology in the intra-professional debate.

The suggestion that within the community education/school movement definitions of 'community', 'education', 'leisure' and 'change' are professionally-prescribed conceptions is examined further in the study through an investigation of these key notions as they are understood by members of both the local community and the local body of politico-professional educationalists in the context of the community school. Key question areas in the analysis might be: Do local people's perceptions and use of the community school for education/leisure/community purposes support or contradict those expressed by the professional staff or local authority

representatives? To what extent is the community school regarded as a resource for local people ? To what extent do the professional community educators themselves define local 'need' for community education and leisure ? How is the community school concept justified and argued for/against by the local residents, its staff and pupils and the local authority? In what terms do people perceive the aims of the community school and what are the grounds for conflict in these perceptions? On what basis is the school-community relationship developed and maintained ? For what purpose? These are some of the questions raised from a critical analysis of the school-community conflict which will be investigated further in the fieldwork.

3.4.3. Identification of Groups in the Educational Environment of a Community School

The study of conflict in the educational environment of a community school now has two focii and within each of these areas of conflict certain groups can be identified:

1. School-community Conflict

The 'school' may be represented by the community school's professional staff who are responsible for its day-to-day operation and management. This group is based in the community school and is concerned with the delivery of education, in its broadest sense, for local people. The 'community ' is defined in a spatial sense: it refers to the local residents living in the catchment of the community school. In the study area, the catchment zone almost coincides with the local authority housing area of Wester Hailes.

2. Intra-professional Conflict

Here, the ideological nature of conflict implies that the contending groups will be identified as a main part of the research objectives. However, given the identification of the community school's professional staff as a constituent group in the school-community conflict, it is useful to draw the distinction between (a) the school-based professionals who are directly involved in the practical delivery of educational resources in the local area, and (b) the local education authority representatives and officials who, as the policy-makers, planners, providers and administrators of the educational experiment, are indirectly involved in the local area.

In this way, three main 'interest' groups can be identified within the educational environment of a community school. They are classified on the basis of the groups' respective relations to educational resources, represented here in the form of the community school. The successful development of the educational experiment will be important to all of these three groups, each holding differing, perhaps complementary, aspirations and expectations of the community school, stemming from these different relations to the school. The community school and its staff are, thus, faced with the difficult task of trying to fulfill, and mediate between, the differing and diverse expectations built up by these parties.

However, as indicated above, the identification of these three groups in the study of conflict inevitably involves the issue of 'interests', a subject that is contentious among social theorists. The notion of interests has been defined in social theory in three ways: as 'wants', as 'justifiable claims' and as a utilitarian 'course of action'(Barry,

1965:174). Criticisms of these definitions (e.g., Therborn, 1980; Giddens, 1979) have been based on their neglect to account for situations/courses of action where what an individual or group wants/claims is not in their interests. For example, Therborn (1980) rejects the simplistic determination of 'interest' in Marxist theory:

"The notion of motivation by interest assumes that normative conceptions of what is good and bad, and conceptions of what is possible and impossible are given in the reality of existence and are accessible only through knowledge of the latter." (Therborn, 1980: 5).

Giddens' reformulation of the notion of interests, like Barry's, retains the idea of wants, but, unlike Barry, does not interpret this as 'empirical wants' (Barry, 1965:178), but:

"...to be aware of one's interests... is more than to be aware of a want or wants; it is to know how one can set about trying to realize them" (Giddens, 1979:189)

Thus, in Giddens' terms, interests presume wants in that they relate to the potential ways of their realization as well as their actual realization. In this study, it is the notion of 'collective' or 'group' interests that is most important. In social theory individuals are generally said to have 'interests' by virtue of their membership to particular groups, collectivities, classes, etc. and, thus, that class positions and cultural 'perspectives' are closely inter-related (Bloomer and Shaw, 1979: 1). The problem here is the implication of a homogeneity of wants, needs and ideas within a class or group. Giddens' distinction between the structural notion of 'interest' from that of 'wants' assists here by relating interests to conflict between classes/groups, given the presumption of common wants. It is often (not always) the realization of wants, together with the harnessing of power, that precipitates conflict. For example, belonging to the working class implies that its members are actually or potentially

caught up in conflicts of interest between capitalists and workers, depending on their awareness of their wants and a course of action through which to realize them.

A number of social theorists have concluded that in advanced capitalist societies there has been a progressive weakening of the link between particular social classes and cultural experiences (Coalter and Parry, 1978: 23) and that the 'working class must be seen as a complexly stratified and divided social unity' (Clarke, 1979: 247). This implies that the significance and meaning attributed to the notions of 'education', 'leisure', 'school' and 'community' within the educational environment of the community school must be viewed within the context of complex class cultural 'perspectives'. For this reason, the three main groups identified in the study of conflict and the community school have been designed to overlap and are tentative, flexibly defined and not mutually exclusive (see Chapter 4.4.).

In Part III of this thesis, the theoretical insights developed in this Chapter will be mobilised in relation to their application to the empirical data reported in Part II which is concerned with a case study of community education in practice.

PART II : THE PRACTICE OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

CHAPTER 4 : METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

- 4.1. A QUALITATIVE APPROACH
- 4.2. LIMITATIONS OF A QUALITATIVE APPROACH
- 4.3. THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW
- 4.4. SAMPLE DESIGN AND SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS
- 4.5. THE INTERVIEW SURVEY
- 4.6. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEORY
- 4.7. ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES

INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of the fieldwork was to investigate 'conflict' in the context of a community school (WHEC). This has been achieved through an evaluative study of 'practical ideologies' (Althusser, 1971) as articulated by respondents in the three main groups identified in Chapter 3.4. (local residents, WHEC staff and local government officials and representatives) in the educational environment of the community school. These respondents were seen as 'agents' of particular social relations to (educational) production and, employing a notion of 'interests' as defined earlier, their attitudes, definitions and interpretations are assumed to be linked, albeit in complex ways, to these class relations. In relation to a community school's educational environment, the 'practical' manifestation of ideology is broadened to include not only the conventional concepts of 'education' and 'school', but also the related notions of 'leisure' and 'community'.

A predominantly qualitative approach to methodology and analysis was adopted in the evaluation of conflict between, and within, the three main respondent groups. This approach was seen to allow greater flexibility in the in-depth exploration and analysis of complex attitudinal structures within a heterogeneous and necessarily small sample. It was also seen as a valuable research method since the data collected to investigate and to generate theoretical propositions is 'grounded' in how people actually think and feel (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Semi-structured interviews were used, with an interview schedule serving as a check-list to topics and questions to be covered, thus, ensuring some consistency in the data collected. In

total, thirty-one interviews were undertaken for the main interview survey. These were tape recorded and later transcribed verbatim for qualitative analysis and also coded for the application of statistical analytical techniques.

In this Chapter the limitations and advantages of adopting a qualitative approach are discussed in a critical assessment of the methodology and analysis employed in this research.

4.1. A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

The notion of 'practical ideologies', which forms the focus of the fieldwork, involves a socially-defined way of thinking and acting, guided by a set of cultural conventions and assumptions (Sharp, 1980: 96). The concept is similar to what phenomenologists call the 'taken-for-granted' world of everyday life defined by normative cultural institutions which determine 'what everyone does', and 'what everyone knows' (Blumer, 1969; Douglas, 1971; Schutz, 1974; Bauman, 1978). However, practical ideologies are also regarded as an inseparable dimension of social relations to production:

"Practical ideologies both develop within, and are a necessary element of, definite social relations to production" (Sharp, 1980:96).

In this sense, in the everyday experiences and routines of education and schooling, through, for example, the habit of submission to authority, ideologies are reproduced and reinforced; social relations to production are expressed in terms of the attitudes, meanings and perceptions of everyday objects and activities related to these

material structures.

The classical positivist methods of attitude measurement, such as the scaling procedures first developed by Thurstone and Chave (1929), Likert (1932) and Guttman (1944), are inadequate methodological tools, since these allow only general assessments of a given object, activity or issue and fail to examine the underlying motives and values behind these evaluations (Moser, 1958). McKennel (1974), drawing on cognitive consistency theory, argued that attitudes occur in 'systems' and that considering attitudes in isolation is misleading since it fails to reveal the underlying system of 'reasons' or motives for evaluation which support and justify them. McKennel's concept of evaluative-belief systems is, therefore, closer to the notion of 'ideology', to the extent that it is the motives, values and beliefs underlying attitudes that provide the primary focus of methodological interest.

Positivist survey methodology, such as attitude scaling and formal standardised questionnaire techniques are not designed to elicit such underlying 'reasons', not only because of the high level of generalisations involved for aggregative purposes, but also because of the general practice of using pre-constructed and fixed categories and items for attitude measurement. The structured approach includes only items perceived as relevant to the investigator at the planning stage, whereas a qualitative approach is more flexible and can allow the accumulated data to develop and refine concepts that are relevant to the given issue or object under study, and thereby, to assist in the inductive development of 'theory'. This aspect of the methodology is discussed in section 4.6. of this Chapter.

If the primary purpose of this research is to elicit the 'reasons' underlying respondents' evaluations, opportunities must be optimised for subjects to reveal these and to say what, in their view, are the relationships emerging from their own experience and understanding of everyday life in the context of the community school. Standardised instruments such as questionnaires, using only questions in which the choice of responses is fixed, are totally unsuited to such exploratory studies since the opportunities for informants to contribute are necessarily circumscribed. A non-directive or unstructured qualitative approach is more valuable because of its non-leading and flexible nature: the investigator adopts an informal procedure and manner in the interview and asks questions in a flexible sequence, depending on the subject's responses and the direction of the discussion. The interviewer proceeds in such a way as not merely to get feedback on what he/she regards as relevant, but to explore as fully as possible what phenomenologists' refer to as the informant's subjective 'definition of the situation'.

Although a qualitative approach is fundamental to the methodology of social anthropology, this approach (e.g., in-depth interviewing, participant observation) has become favoured by sociologists since the early 1970s. It is regarded by Bulmer as indicative of a concern with the 'interpretative understanding of social action as well as its causal explanation' (1977:229). It is an approach commonly associated with phenomenologists such as Lofland (1971), Schutz (1972) and Bauman (1978), with ethnomethodologists, such as Garfinkel (1967) and Douglas (1976), and with symbolic interactionists, such as Blumer (1969) and Denzin (1978). The phenomenological analysis consists of

interpretative descriptions of interactions in terms appropriate to the 'actors' culture. Theory is seen as comprising the underlying system of cultural rules and norms that constitute the meaningfulness of interaction. Bogdan and Taylor (1979) outlined the implications of this Weberian-based phenomenologists' approach for methodology:

"The phenomenological perspective is central to our conception of qualitative methodology... The phenomenologist views human behaviour - what people say and do - as a product of how people interpret their world. The task for the phenomenologist, and, for us, the qualitative methodologist, is to capture this process of interpretation. To do this requires what Weber called 'verstehen', emphatic understanding or an ability to reproduce in one's own mind the feelings, motives and thoughts behind the actions of others. In order to grasp the meaning of a person's behaviour, the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that person's point of view." (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975: 14)

A major drawback of the phenomenologists' intuitive verstehen-based approach is its unstructured notion of reality and, thus, its inadequate explanation of the processes and mechanisms underlying actors' different 'definitions of the situation'. In other words, the phenomenological approach lacks 'theory'. As Adorno repeatedly stated, 'theory wants to point out what secretly keeps the whole machinery working' and empirically observed facts do not, in themselves, reflect the underlying social relations, but 'they are the veil by which these relations are masked ' (Lazarsfeld, 1972: 172).

Bulmer (1979) discussed the attempts and failures of much interpretative qualitative research to interrelate the descriptive empirical data with the development of 'theory'. Glaser and Strauss' concept of the development of 'grounded theory' (1967) marked such an attempt to structure qualitative data upon categories grounded in actors' 'definition of the situation' through the use of the constant comparative method of analysis.

Another example of an approach to qualitative methodology which attempts to link theory to practice is found in the materialist view of structuralist analysis. Here, the culturally-defined and historically specific meanings and values through which objects and activities are experienced, interpreted and understood are 'mapped' onto a theory of underlying material relations and forces (Sharp, 1980: 96). Using this form of analysis, the benefits accruing from an in-depth evaluative study are further strengthened by the inclusion of 'extraneous' forces that are often neglected in normative qualitative research. Such an omission formed the basis of Parlett and Hamilton's critique of traditional evaluative methodology used in the assessment of educational innovations:

"...innovations in particular are vulnerable to manifold extraneous influences. Yet, the traditional evaluator ignores these. He is restrained by the dictates of his paradigm to seek generalised findings along pre-ordained lines. His definition of empirical reality is low." (Parlett and Hamilton, 1976: 9)

The development of a theoretical framework through which to explain the empirical 'reality' of the field research, and the inclusion of the 'diversity of questions posed by different interest groups' (Parlett and Hamilton, 1976: 9), such as the consumers, managers and sponsors of the educational experiment, were fundamental to this qualitative analysis of conflict and the community school.

4.2. LIMITATIONS OF A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

Although arguments can thus be advanced for a structuralist approach to qualitative methodology based on a materialist analysis, it is also

essential to assess the limitations of such qualitative research techniques. These relate principally to the issues of subjectivity, the representativeness of the findings given the small size of the sample and the emphasis on verbal constructs when interview data are used as the principal source of information.

Many of the limitations of qualitative research have stemmed from its definition as the negative counterpart of quantitative research (Lazarsfeld, 1944; Guttman, 1944; Barton and Lazarsfeld, 1957; Maxwell, 1961; McKenney, 1974). More recently, however, it has been argued by interpretivists that the formal rules of scientific inquiry in sociology do not apply to qualitative research (Blaxter, 1979; Spencer and Dale, 1979; Halfpenny, 1979; Dittons and Williams, 1979; Gerhardt, 1980). For example, Blaxter argued that

"...as an interpretative sociology develops, standards have to be negotiated and procedures examined for their own acceptability" (1979: 650).

According to Campbell (1974), Cronbach, (1975) and Hamilton (1977), the dominance of the ^ohypothetico-deductive methodological paradigm, which takes quantitative measurement, 'objectivity', validation and statistical analysis as essentials of scientific social research, has declined in the 1970s as social scientists have become influenced by qualitative methodology. In this way, Halfpenny (1979) challenged the positivists' paradigm when he argued that the problems associated with qualitative methods and data analysis do not stem from their deficiency with respect to some other data, and supported Dittons and Williams when they stated that:

"Qualitative data is not somehow incomplete quantitative data. The aim is not somehow to harden up soft data. It should be instead to treat qualitative data as authentic data in its own right." (Dittons and Williams, 1979)

Patton (1980), on the other hand, regards the competition between the two methodological paradigms not in terms of one approach being 'better' than the other, but in terms of their co-existence and potential synthesis:

"The debate and competition between paradigms is being replaced by a new paradigm - a paradigm of choices. The paradigm of choices recognises that different methods are appropriate for different situations." (Patton, 1980: 20)

It was this view of a 'methodological mix' that was gradually adopted in this study as a means of optimising the data's potential and avoiding some of the limitations of a purely qualitative approach. For example, the use of semi-structured interviews has allowed the quantification of some of the structured data and their subsequent analysis.

Criticisms of qualitative research based on the issue of subjectivity and the arguments for 'objective truth' can be applied more generally to all social research, given that the investigator is immersed deeply within the social order which he/she attempts to analyse (Friedrichs, 1970; Smith, 1970). To this extent, the Weberian argument that social scientists must be 'value-free' in undertaking research (Guba, 1978) through, for example, the use of 'objective' and distanced forms of scientific inquiry and measurement, is refuted by a growing number of sociologists. For example, Patton argued that 'numbers do not protect against bias, they merely disguise it... Distance does not guarantee objectivity, it merely guarantees distance.' (1980: 336); while Smith (1970) argued that all social scientists adopt a political position, or 'value-stance', whether consciously or unconsciously. Smith (1970) described the social scientist who does not recognise this 'value-stance' as like 'some priestly overlord of the social order'. As an extension of this argument, the degree to which the researcher is an

agent of change in relation to the subject and setting (Friedrichs, 1970) is either explicitly stated in the methodology used , e.g., 'action' research (Batty, 1977; Haworth, 1979) , or is implicit in the setting/subject-researcher 'involvement' intrinsic to all social research to varying degrees, but perhaps most inter-penetrating in participant observation (Becker and Geer, 1960; Pelto and Pelto, 1978).

Although all social research involves some degree of subjectivity, the limitations of adopting a qualitative approach in this respect must be examined. The open and unstructured nature of most informal qualitative methods provides much greater scope for 'subjectivity' because of several characteristics: The increased opportunities for researcher-subject interaction which permits bias and influence by the interviewer (Moser, 1958; Morton- Williams, 1977); the lack of comparability of one set of interview data with another (Sampson, 1967); and the researcher's consequent reliance on 'interpretative' and 'impressionistic' analytical procedures which reduces the possibilities of verification (McKenna, 1974).

Problems of 'subjectivity' in qualitative research are related to the quality of the data collected by the researcher. This can be improved by introducing some degree of standardisation or structure to give greater consistency and comparability in the material collected, and through the use of analytical techniques other than purely qualitative methods. These improvements were sought in this study by using 'focused' interviews (Merton, Fiske and Kendall, 1956; Moser, 1958; Sampson, 1967; Macfarlane-Smith, 1972).

An important aspect of the debate on 'subjectivity' in relation to the analysis of qualitative data is the problem of interpretation (Halfpenny, 1979: 803). This is analogous to problems of measurement for the positivist methodologist. Difficulties arise in the accessibility of other (sub)cultures, the cultural relativity of respondents' accounts of reality and the relation between subjects' conceptions and the researcher's descriptions and interpretations of these.

The problem of differential accessibility to (sub)cultures within the research setting was experienced in this study. For example, opportunities to associate with, and to establish some degree of rapport and understanding with, people in the professional milieu of WHEC were far greater than with local residents of Wester Hailes. This was essentially due to the 'culture gap' between the Scottish working class local subjects and the English middle class researcher. The adoption of an active participant observation approach (Becker and Geer, 1960; Bruyn, 1963) was discounted in the early stages of the research, partly because this inequitable cultural accessibility would increase the bias by the researcher towards the professionals viewpoint (not only in the mind of the researcher but also for the subjects themselves) and so limit the opportunity for critical evaluation. The non-participatory approach of interviewer, listener and relative stranger was adopted also because of the diversity of subjects and settings in the educational environment of a community school. Hence, it is useful here to make Bogdan and Taylor's distinction in qualitative research between participant observation and the more structured methods of in-depth interviewing and the use

of personal documents (1975: 4).

The major disadvantage of adopting a non-participatory approach was that emphasis had to be given to verbal constructs of attitudes and behaviour, as presented within the contrived situation of an interview and within a relatively short period of time. This approach relies heavily on the subjects' ability to articulate thoughts, feelings and experiences spontaneously, and excludes the closer observation of attitudes, beliefs and values as acted out in everyday life and in relation to other people.

In this qualitative study, there were several ways in which the evaluator herself might have affected the research findings, especially in the form of the relationship between the researcher and subject. The approach adopted was to take a flexible position between formality on the one hand, and informality and openness on the other, depending on the subject's reaction to the presence of a researcher. The former approach aimed to create a certain air of efficiency in order to reassure respondents, especially those interviewed during work time, that their participation in the research was not 'a waste of time'. The latter approach aimed to create a relaxed and friendly atmosphere in which the respondent would feel more at ease and willing to talk openly. The researcher-subject interaction was improved markedly by ensuring that some informal contact was made before the interview.

Changes in the researcher (the 'measuring' instrument) during the course of the fieldwork study also affected the relationship. For example, in the initial stages of the interview survey, the researcher

felt slightly nervous and self-conscious in her 'official' role, and this disposition was seen to affect the respondents' reaction to the interview. However, as West found in his research, both the informal and official 'fronts' were seen to elicit expected, rather than 'true' responses (1975: 725), if indeed this distinction is valuable. When dealing with ideas like education and schooling where there are appropriate lines of thought or action, as defined by the education profession, or 'experts', and represented by the researcher, there is the real possibility that the subjects tend to present their thoughts and feelings according to these hegemonic, or normative, cultural and moral prescriptions. Yet, owing to the in-depth and explorative mode of inquiry, respondents often articulated their interpretations of notions like 'schools' indirectly and in a variety of different contexts. This allowed scope for their expression of more spontaneous, and often contradictory, definitions.

The associated issue of the relativity of agents' perceptions of reality and the researcher's interpretation and presentation of these was also considered. Contradictory accounts of certain aspects of the research setting (e.g., the extent of local participation in WHEC's activities) brought the question of whether the aim of the study was to establish the grounds for 'objective truth' and thus to also present 'hard' evidence concerning that issue (e.g., the rates of local participation in WHEC's educational, sporting and recreational activities), or whether the aim was to explore the perceptual basis of conflict, regardless of the factual reality (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). A qualitative approach which aims to make the data 'as replicable as possible' through the use of diverse data sources (Denzin, 1978:167)

was not pursued systematically, since the aim was not to verify the elements of 'truth' in peoples' perceptions. The subjects' qualitative evaluations were taken as valid data in themselves. However, some attempts were made to diversify the sources of data by collecting other observational data concerning the community school by:

- i) attending WHEC council meetings during the school year 1978/9 where a range of different interest groups in the research setting were represented, and
- ii) attending meetings and conferences which involved the issue of community schools and/or personnel from WHEC.

Analytical procedures were used to check the validity of the researcher's interpretations of the qualitative material, rather than to verify the subjects' perceptions of reality. These comprised the application of certain statistical forms of analysis to the interview data and are discussed in section 4.7. of this Chapter.

One of the great advantages of the qualitative research method of in-depth interviewing is that the opportunities to probe in much greater detail into particular attitudes and their underlying motives and reasons provide a richness, colour and depth of description for which few other research methods allow (Morton - Williams, 1977). By tape-recording all the interviews, the quality and detail of the subjects' responses were retained verbatim, in the subjects' own terms. Lofland (1971) and Patton (1980) argued that through the use of direct quotations and detailed description, qualitative analysis can represent more accurately the meanings given to 'raw reality'. Tape recording the interviews also released the interviewer from the

distracting and selective task of making notes during the interviews and allowed the researcher to focus full attention on the subjects' responses, the flow of the discussion and the timely introduction of new topics. Yet, these advantages carried with them the associated disadvantage of the increased time spent in conducting interviews and in transcribing, absorbing and analysing the wealth of data generated. For example, the process of transcribing 2,674 minutes of interview material took a laborious 314 hours, or nearly two months' work time.

A high level of skill by the interviewer is needed not only in negotiating researcher-subject relationships, but also in the evaluation stage when the mass of transcripts and other information collected has to be read through repeatedly, absorbed, thought about and synthesised into an organised analytical framework so that new ideas and hypotheses can be drawn out of it, and previous ones tested. As Morton-Williams has put it, the analytical stage 'requires a blend of receptivity, objectivity and creativity' (1977:2).

The small-scale and selective nature of the samples used in the research and the relatively unstructured nature of the data generated, meant that it was possible to identify only the range of attitudes for the sample of the populations being studied. Without recourse to random sampling techniques, qualitative methods cannot be used to identify all the relevant attitude dimensions in the sampling universe; these were only hypothesised in the identification of a range of parameters which were used as a basis for selecting a small sample. This related issue of the extent to which the research findings can be generalised will be discussed in greater detail in section 4.4. of this Chapter.

4.3. THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Some of the limitations inherent in the use of unstructured qualitative research methodology were seen to be resolved through the use of the more structured and systematic format found in the 'semi-structured' interview, alternatively referred to as 'focused', 'guided' or 'partially structured' interview (Merton, Fiske and Kendall, 1956; Jahoda et al, 1957; Sampson, 1967; Macfarlane-Smith, 1972). This form of interviewing avoids the inflexibility of formal structured methods, but provides a set framework of pre-determined topic areas to ensure some consistency in the collection of information.

The semi-structured interview relies largely on unstructured open-ended questions, which are especially useful in introducing a topic area, but it also employs the use of semi-structured questions (i.e., when both the response and question are structured) to elicit specific reports on aspects of the topic (Merton, Fiske and Kendall, 1956; Moser, 1958; Jahoda et al, 1951). This approach thereby provides a method of qualitative interviewing which is intermediate between the highly formalised structured questionnaire survey and the informal, unstructured in-depth interview (Young, 1966). It has been used in some research projects to combine both qualitative and quantitative forms of analysis (Marriot, 1953; Newby, 1979). Some quantification was obtained through the partial use of structured questions to get a greater consistency of the data since all respondents were asked the same questions in the same order. For example, Newby's small-scale evaluative study of the perceptions and reactions of farmers on the urban fringe to the Green Belt Management Experiments used qualitative

analysis to form the main substance of the report, but also presented certain data statistically in the text for summary purposes and to give the reader a clear means of reference to the results. In adopting this combined methodological approach to the analysis and presentation of qualitative data, Newby recognised that the relatively small size of the sample (146) meant that 'idiosyncratic factors' assume some significance'. In other words, the use of statistical techniques in the analysis of qualitative material does not imply that the data are any more representative of the three sample populations studied or the results capable of greater generalisation than when purely qualitative methods of analysis are used. This issue is discussed further in the following section (4.4.).

The semi-structured interview has tended to be used as an hypothesis-testing technique, each topic area and set of questions being 'focused' on an hypothesis developed from the analysis of the research issue before the fieldwork is undertaken (Merton, Fiske and Kendall, 1958). In focusing on the key concepts of 'education', 'leisure', 'school' and 'community' in this study of a community school, the inter-related topics of 'community school' and 'WHEC-Wester Hailes Community' were also included in the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A). The intention was not merely to investigate the perceptual grounds for hypothesised conflict, but also to generate further concepts, theory and hypotheses from the qualitative data, given the generalised nature of the topic areas being studied. Indeed, one of the main advantages of qualitative research was found to be the way in which it stimulated the inductive development of theory (see section 3.6.). The inductive nature of the analysis meant that the key

concepts of education, leisure, school and community were not pre-defined and operationalised in a formal and schematic way, but were examined and re-formulated in the light of empirical data, viz., the interpretations, meanings and understandings of these concepts as expressed by agents in the educational environment of WHEC.

General information was also collected concerning respondents' personal and employment details. Respondents in the local government group were also asked about the content and development of local policy for community schools. Their responses were found to express a large part of the local authority's (providers) perspective on the interaction of education, leisure, school and community.

The topic areas and list of questions that comprised the semi-structured interview schedule are given in Appendix A. The heterogeneous nature of the sample, in terms of the varied experiences, involvement and awareness of WHEC/community schools, required that a flexible interview schedule be devised. If the questions were going to have an equivalent meaning for each respondent, the wording of the questions and introductions to topic areas needed to be formulated in a way that was appropriate for each respondent. The more specific the topic area, the greater the need for adjustment in its forms. This can be seen most clearly in the topic area 'Experience of WHEC' where experiences are sub-divided into WHEC as a workplace, WHEC as a school, and WHEC as a leisure facility. Flexibility in the design and formulation of interview schedules was facilitated by the use of a system of index cards : Each form of a question, or set of questions, was typed onto a separate index card which indicated also the topic area, suggested introductory wording

and the respondent codes for which the questions were relevant. An example of this card system is given in Figure 4.1 where questions concerned with local residents' evaluation of the Wester Hailes 'community' are shown.

FIGURE 4.1.: EXAMPLE OF INDEX CARD USED IN THE COMPILATION OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

WESTER HAILES 'COMMUNITY'

I'd like to ask you a few questions about the Wester Hailes area, from the point of view of someone who lives here...

Q. How long have you been staying in Wester Hailes now?

Q. What's it like living in Wester Hailes?

PROMPTS: a) What do you like about living here?
b) What don't you like about living here?

1 - 12

Prior to each interview, a schedule was compiled by selecting the appropriate cards for the respondent as indicated by the code numbers in the bottom right corner of each index card, arranging the cards in a logical sequence and photocopying them onto paper. The pre-determined sequence of the topic areas as ordered in these schedules was not adhered to rigidly. Indeed, the structured schedules became largely redundant during the course of the interview survey as the interviewer became increasingly familiar and confident with the format and content of them. Eventually, they were used more as a check-list of topic areas to ensure that the information required from each respondent was covered in the interview. Respondents were encouraged

to talk freely around each topic , while the interviewer's tasks were to introduce new topics at relevant points in the interview, to guide the discussion, to probe, to check off topics on the schedule once they had been covered fully and to operate the tape recorder.

Individual interviews were conducted with all respondents, but in the case of the WHEC pupils, a group discussion was also held to explore the questions which were open-ended and where a more impressionistic response was required (e.g., an evaluation of Wester Hailes as a place to live, the perceptions of the impact of WHEC on local people, concepts of an ideal school, concepts of a community school). Individual interviews were conducted with three WHEC pupils for the more structured questions where personal opinions and information were required (e.g., use of leisure time, comparison of school experiences, purpose of schooling). The combination of methods of individual and group interviewing was chosen after discussion with the members of the Aberdeen University research team who had investigated community schools in the Grampian Region. They had found this procedure the best method with children of school-age.

On two occasions, problems of 'relevance' were encountered from the respondents' viewpoint. One of the local government representatives was initially convinced that his opinions on the subjects of schools and leisure were not relevant since he worked in neither the Education nor the Leisure Services Departments. Similarly, a retired local respondent at first could not understand how her opinions on education and schools would be valuable to the research when this subject-matter affected only young people. These attitudes were expressed by the two oldest respondents in the sample and are indicative of how traditional

ideas about education, schools and leisure were manifest in the wider research setting of the interview survey.

4.4. SAMPLE DESIGN AND SELECTION PROCEDURE

The essentially qualitative methodology employed in this evaluative study determined the relatively small sample size of thirty-one respondents who were selected from each of the three main groups identified within the educational environment of a community school: local residents, community school staff and local authority officials and elected representatives. In positivist terms, the use of 'purposive' or selective sampling techniques, which are commonly employed in qualitative research, produces a biased sample, and, therefore, involves a large degree of sampling error (McKennel, 1974). Since this 'sampling error' cannot be calculated (Smith, 1970), the degree to which the research findings can be generalised must be established, and the possible distortions examined, in order to keep the research in context (Cronbach, 1975; Rossi et al, 1979; Guba, 1978). On the basis of Patton's (1980) threefold classification of distortions arising in qualitative research design, the general applicability of the study's findings are considered:

i) In the situations sampled for observation: For example, in this research, WHEC was chosen in August 1978 as a case study of a community school in Lothian Region among a total of three schools. Regardless of the reasons for selecting WHEC, the contribution of an

in-depth study of a single case 'as a universe in itself' (Spencer and Dale, 1979) to the body of research knowledge is limited owing to its restricted applicability. An advantage, however, is that case studies permit the researcher to hypothesise about the structural relations between different aspects of one case, and between the properties of the one case and the properties of the context (Spencer and Dale, 1979).

ii) In the period of observation and interviewing: The fieldwork was carried out during the first eighteen months of WHEC's operation. This early period, or 'epoch', in the developmental history of a community school is characterised by certain distinctive conditions (Fletcher, 1980). However, these historically specific conditions are taken into account in the research design.

iii) In the selection procedure and the design of the sample: As stated earlier, the sample itself was not designed as a random sample of the three populations and the study made no pretence at being representative or capable of generalisation in a predictive sense. However, as described below, the sample was designed to include as wide a range of attitudes as possible within each group of respondents and to this limited extent the findings may be regarded as capable of being generalised.

The size of the sample was determined by two main factors: Firstly, each group had to embrace as wide a range as possible of attitudes. Secondly, it had to allow for the comparison of sub-groups within the overall sample. The selection was, therefore, based on a number of parameters suggested by the researcher as 'representative' of a range

of possible attitudes within the educational environment of WHEC. The combination of these parametric variables into 'respondent profiles' determined the size and nature of the sample used in the research. The parameters selected and their frequency in the sample are given below for each of the three main groups:

1. Local Residents (14 respondents)

AGE:	16 years or more	3
	17 - 25 years	1
	26 - 35 years	5
	36 - 45 years	3
	46 - 55 years	1
	56 - 65 years	1
	66 years and over	1

SEX:	Male	6
	Female	8

PARENTAL STATUS:

	Married parent	5
	Single parent	4
	Non-parent	5

EMPLOYMENT STATUS:

	Working full-time	6
	Working part-time	2
	Unemployed	1
	Housewife	1
	Retired	1
	Full-time education	3

RESIDENTIAL AREA:

	Dumbryden	1
	Murrayburn	1
	Hailesland	3
	Park and Drive	1
	Westburn	1
	Clovenstone	2
	Calders	5

WHEC STATUS:

Regular user	3
Causal user	8
Non-user	3
Centre Council member	1
Non-member	13
WHEC parent	4
Non-WHEC parent	5
Non-parent	2
WHEC pupil	3

LOCAL INVOLVEMENT:

Very active	2
Semi-active	4
Not active	8

2. WHEC Staff (11 respondents)

SEX:	Male	6
	Female	5

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:

Professional	8
Skilled manual	2
Manual	1

WORK SPHERE:

School	6
Recreation	1
Community	1
Non-teaching	3

RESIDENTIAL AREA:

Local	2
Non-local	9

WORK EXPERIENCE:

Experienced secondary teacher	2
Newly qualified teacher	2
Teacher drafted from Forresters	2
'Community school' teacher	1
Primary school teacher	1
Non-school experience	3

EXECUTIVE MEMBERSHIP:

Member of Executive Team	2
Non-member	9

3. Local Authority (8 respondents)

DEPARTMENT/SERVICE:

Education (Schools)	3
Community Education	3
Leisure	1
Community Development	1

PROFESSIONAL STATUS:

Middle management	3
Higher management	3
Elected member	2

WORK SPHERE:

Office-based worker	5
Fieldworker	1
Councillor	2

RELATION TO WHEC/COMMUNITY SCHOOLS:

Member of WHEC Centre Council	2
Policy-making role	2
Advisory role	1
Nominal role	2
Community-based worker	1

It is important to note an overlap between the groups of local residents and WHEC staff: Two non-professional respondents both lived in Wester Hailes and worked in WHEC (Initially, the sample had been designed to include a professional member of WHEC staff who also lived in Wester Hailes, but such a person did not exist). This was an intended feature of the sample to enable the investigation of a possible attitudinal difference or re-orientation by these respondents owing to their greater contact with WHEC and its professional staff. This school-community interface is also apparent amongst the respondents who were WHEC pupils. It was thought that this 'overlap' sub-group might constitute a distinct group in itself.

Ideally, the distribution of the parametric variables throughout each of the three groups of respondents would be even. However, as shown by the sample frequency of variables, instances occurred where a variable was over- or under- represented. For example, the local resident group was lacking a representative from the 46 - 55 year old age group, and the Calders residential area was relatively over-represented. This problem stemmed from the practical difficulties of combining a number of variables for every respondent and locating such a person whilst, at the same time, trying to ensure that certain other variables (e.g., sex, age, residential area) were simultaneously covered.

Through the progressive combination of parametric variables, profiles of respondents were constructed before, and during, the selection of the sample. These 'profiles' are given in Appendix B. Each respondent was allocated a code that referred to his/her number (1 - 28) and respondent group (LR, S and LG). These codes appear in the text prior

to each extract from the transcript . Respondents 11S and 28LG were not included in the original sample design but became part of the final sample, in the first case because the lack of representation of non-local skilled manual WHEC staff was later seen to comprise a serious gap in the sample's range; in the second case, the respondent had originally been part of the pilot survey, but owing to the similar form of interview used for the local government group in both the pilot and the main survey, and the value of the information offered by this respondent as Chairman of the Education Committee, it was decided to include him in the final sample. Respondents given as 10LR were those obtained in the group discussion with WHEC pupils . Information and comments made by individual students when interviewed separately is denoted in the text by the suffix A, B or C.

The strategy employed to select the samples and to seek out possible respondents required a variety of procedures, especially to find respondents for the local resident group owing to the researcher's relative lack of contacts within this group as a whole and the much greater size of the sample population (over 16,500 at the time of the interview survey).

The local government group presented the least difficulty, since selection was based on the researcher's accumulated contacts within local government made during earlier research on Lothian Region's community schools programme and policy. The sample of local government respondents was not exhaustive of all those with an interest in, or past/present responsibility for, community schools, WHEC or the Wester Hailes area, but comprised a selection of such people based on the parameters outlined above.

The strategy employed in relation to the WHEC staff and local resident groups involved the use of key informants who had wide knowledge and access to the social settings. The Principal of WHEC provided the obvious key informant for the selection of respondents amongst WHEC staff, since he was the only individual with a background knowledge of all 250 employees in the Centre. The editor of the community newspaper, based in the Community Workshop, was initially the main informant concerning local residents, being one himself and having extensive contacts throughout the area established through his work in the neighbourhood. These two key informants were asked to supply a list of names of all the people they knew who might fit the required profiles, and who would, thus, provide possible candidates for interview. As many names as possible were obtained for each category to lessen the chance of bias by the informant and to cover losses through non-response.

This procedure was successfully used for respondents from the WHEC staff since this population was relatively small. It was, however, unsuccessful for the local resident group since the list of names provided by the key informant in Wester Hailes was found to be biased towards 'community activists'. Only two of these contacts were used in the final sample. A wider range of sources of information and contacts in Wester Hailes was therefore established so that eventually local respondents were found and selected through the following channels:

Community Workshop:	- 2LR, 4LR
WHEC teachers:	- 1LR, 8LR, 10LR
WHEC user survey:	- 5LR, 6LR
Local residents:	- 3LR
Job centre:	- 9LR

Respondents were selected randomly from the resultant list of potential candidates for each of the respondent profiles.

4.5. THE INTERVIEW SURVEY

Two months before the main interview survey, a pilot survey was carried out with a total of six respondents, two from each of the three main groups, who were contacted and selected on the basis of the procedure outlined in the previous section (4.4). The pilot survey served the following preparatory purposes:

- i) To develop acceptable introductory procedures in order to minimise non-response .
- ii) To check the sequence of the topics to be discussed and, thus, the flow of the interview.
- iii) To ascertain whether the respondents' interest was maintained throughout the interview, and if not, why not.
- iv) To check whether the questions were ambiguous or needed re-phrasing.
- v) To estimate the average duration of interviews.
- vi) To ensure that the recording equipment being used was effective, operable by the researcher and acceptable to the subjects.
- vii) To familiarise and train the interviewer in the questions, procedures and techniques involved in an in-depth interview survey.

The six tape-recorded interviews were mainly transcribed in summary form with only certain key sections retained verbatim. These summary

outlines served as a basis for the question-response review of the components from the interview schedules in preparation for the main survey. The outcome of the pilot survey indicated a number of general points that needed rectification or clarification.

The main drawback was found to be the duration of the interviews owing to the length of time taken up by the discussion of each topic . The average length of the pilot interviews was 85 minutes, with a range of 55 to 105 minutes, compared to the 60 minutes envisaged. To avoid reducing the respondents' opportunities to talk freely and the interviewer's chance to probe, it was decided to refine the focus of the interview in topics where there was evidence of overlap or ambiguity in the responses (e.g., parental involvement, joint provision, the practice of community use) and in topics which were not central to the main purpose of the study (e.g., awareness of local facilities, perception of local leisure needs).

Several respondents in the pilot survey expressed the view that their responses might have been richer and fuller if some prior knowledge of the topic areas had been given, allowing them a chance to recall past attitudes and experiences. In response to this comment, and in order to increase the quality of the information received, the letter of introduction sent to potential candidates included a brief summary of the topics to be covered by the interview.

Although there were no objections to the use of a tape-recorder, technical difficulties were experienced at the pilot stage and were encountered throughout the interviews due to the inadequacy of available equipment. The main effect of this was poor quality

recordings which made the process of transcription much more time consuming.

The main interview survey was undertaken over two months from the end of January to the end of March 1980. Interviews with local residents took place in their homes at a time pre-arranged with the respondents. The WHEC staff and pupils were interviewed at the Centre at a time and place of the respondents' choice. Interviews with the local government respondents tended to be conducted at their place of work. The ex-Chairman of the Education Committee was interviewed in London, having been elected as a Member of Parliament in May 1979.

The potential respondents were first contacted by letter in which the research project and the content of the interview were briefly outlined, the source of their name given and their participation requested. A reply form and stamped addressed envelope were enclosed for local residents since they could not all be followed up by telephone. However, this formal method of response was found to be unsatisfactory since only two of the original nine local residents contacted in this way replied. Whenever possible, personal contact was made with the prospective local respondents before the interview by telephone, through a survey carried out at WHEC which was designed to find 'user' respondents, or by a meeting pre-arranged by a local intermediary. In contrast, the response rate of WHEC staff and local government groups, subsequent to the initial postal introduction, was 100 per cent and interviews were arranged informally over the telephone.

Adverse reactions to the use of a tape recorder in the interviews were

few, and only one respondent refused. Nevertheless, it was felt that many respondents were inhibited when they knew that the recorder was operating, although they had agreed in principle to its use. This feeling was confirmed when, on several occasions, as soon as the machine was switched off, the respondent gave a sigh of relief and began to talk in a more relaxed and unselfconscious manner. In these cases, notes were made concerning the post-interview discussions. The alternative recording method of relying completely on note-taking was considered, and on one occasion used, but the disadvantages of this method were found to be more severe.

The average length of the interviews in the main survey (90 minutes) proved to be greater than in the pilot survey, despite the reduced number of topic areas. Interviews with local residents were, on average, the shortest (64 minutes), while the WHEC staff (98 minutes) and the local government group (104 minutes) talked for much longer. Despite the work pressures and time constraints on the WHEC staff and local government groups, the duration of these interviews reflected these respondents' interest, willingness, and greater ability, to articulate spontaneously their thoughts, feelings and opinions concerning the subject matter of the interview.

The heterogeneity of the overall sample is reflected in the inconsistency of the data collected through the interview survey for the local government group. The information recorded and collected for each respondent group is shown in Table 4.1. in which the topics refer to those shown in Appendix A. In this Table, the heading 'Respondent Details' does not include age and sex (Q2 and Q3), since this

TABLE 4.1.: INFORMATION COLLECTED IN THE MAIN INTERVIEW SURVEY FROM THE THREE RESPONDENT GROUPS

<u>Topics</u>	<u>Respondent Groups</u>			Total
	Local Residents	WHEC Staff	Local Govt.	
	Nos.(%) of respondents			
Respondent Details	14(100)	-	-	14(45)
Work Details	2(14)	9(100)	-	11(35)
Experience of WHEC	14(100)	9(100)	-	23(74)
Wester Hailes Community	12(100)	9(100)	3(37)	24(77)
Leisure	14(100)	9(100)	-	23(74)
Education & Schools	12(100)	9(100)	4(50)	25(81)
Purposes of Schooling (Q40)	12(100)	9(100)	8(100)	31(100)
Community School	12(100)	9(100)	6(75)	25(81)
WHEC-W.H. Community	12(100)	9(100)	7(87)	27(87)
Assessment of WHEC	12(100)	9(100)	7(87)	28(90)
Local Policy	-	1(11)	7(87)	8(26)
Total	14/12(100)	9(100)	8(100)	31

information was collected from all respondents, but it does include the employment status of respondents (Q8). The variation in the total of local residents relates to the topics where the WHEC pupils (10LR) were asked questions individually (total = 14), and where they were asked as a group (total = 12). In most of the tables that appear in the text, the two respondents who were both local residents and WHEC staff (11LRS and 12LRS) are recorded in the local residents group.

The inconsistency of the data collected from the local government respondents was largely due to the excessive time taken up in the discussion of local policy and its development in the initial part of the interview, to the extent that the specific discussion of other topic areas either was not pursued or was curtailed due to the lack of time available. However, the option of undertaking a second interview with these respondents was not pursued since many of the other topic

areas arose indirectly during the course of the discussions about local policy. The flexible methods of qualitative analysis assisted in the ordering of this data in such a way that the possible distortions arising from these apparent omissions were minimised. However, the unsystematic form of the data has been a limiting factor on the greater use of quantitative methods in the analysis of the data. Consequently, statistical forms of analysis have been applied only to responses to the structured question on the purposes of schooling (Q40) which all thirty-one respondents answered.

4.6. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEORY

It was noted in section 4.3. of this Chapter that one of the important ways in which research is qualitative is its hypothetico-inductive dimension. This is central to the development of 'theory'. It has been an important aspect of the analytic stage, not so much in the generation of new theory, but in the development of a theoretical framework through which to interpret and understand the data. The development of theory took place after interviewing, transcription and absorption of the data, and was thus assisted by an increasing familiarity with the data. An appropriate explanatory framework was sought through which to interpret the data that 'made sense' in terms both of the concrete empirical evidence and of the pre-fieldwork analysis of the research issue. This is the process of theoretical induction that Bogdan and Taylor referred to when they wrote:

"Theory provides an exploratory or interpretative framework that enables the researcher to make sense out of the morass of data and to relate data to other events and settings. For this reason, it is

important for the researcher to expose her or himself to different theoretical perspectives during the intensive analysis stage of the research." (1975: 84)

A phenomenological approach had been adopted initially ,as seen in the use of the interpretivist notion of 'perspectives'. It informed the original conceptualisation of 'conflict' and 'interest groups', which are ideas to which Bulmer (1979) referred as 'sensitizing concepts' since they directed the initial line of investigation. One of the fundamental assumptions underlying the phenomenologists' approach is that 'truth' is a relative and evasive concept: 'perspectives' and understandings of an object or action differ from one person to another, yet all may be 'telling the truth' (Shaw, 1966; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). This view was expressed in Bogdan and Taylor's study of State mental institutions in which they concluded:

"Truth then emerges not as one objective view, but rather as a composite picture of how people think about the institution and each other." (1975: 11)

Although they recognised that this 'composite picture' often comprised a set of contradictory 'perspectives', Bogdan and Taylor, in common with other phenomenologists, offered no systematic theory for the explanation and analysis of such contradictions, except on the questionable basis of 'interest' defined in terms of actors' membership to a group (e.g. resident, staff, visitor, physician, therapist). The phenomenological analysis, therefore, remains at the superficial level of empirical data and concept formation, and fails to explain or identify the social, cultural, political or economic mechanisms underlying these 'perspectives'. In a critical evaluation of qualitative research techniques, Bulmer (1979) made the important

distinction between 'concepts' and 'theory' in sociology:

"Concepts in themselves are not theories. They are categories for the organisation of ideas and observations. In order to form an explanatory theory, concepts must be interrelated... concepts then, mediate between theory and data. They form an essential bridge, but one which is difficult to construct and maintain." (1979: 652)

The sensitizing concepts that initially guided this study were gradually revalued and redefined during the later stages of analysis through a critical review of the theoretical approaches in the sociology of education (see Chapter 3.2.). This led to the re-orientation of the study's theoretical framework towards a Marxist approach based on structuralist analysis. This was found to provide a more theory-based and systematic explanatory framework for the interpretation of 'conflict' as revealed in the interview data. It successfully linked together the complex strands of empirical reality with 'other events and settings' found in the literature related to the research subject-matter, as well as with the wider issue of social and economic changes in the conditions of advanced capitalism.

Although some phenomenological methods of data collection (e.g. participant observation and the notion of 'verstehen') were regarded critically for reasons outlined in sections 4.1. and 4.2. of this Chapter, other interpretivist concepts were regarded initially as providing a potentially valuable perspective through which to view the educational environment of a community school and as a framework that suggested ways of analysing the mass of qualitative data. For example, the major concern of the interpretivist approach is the way in which people define, interpret and give meaning to situations in which they find themselves. This approach provided a basis for the construction

of a series of preliminary analytical questions that related to the idea of conflict and the community school. For example:

- i) How do different respondents define the community school, the conceptual dimensions comprising the community school's educational environment (i.e. education, leisure, school and community) and themselves in relation to the community school? These questions were directed at individual 'definitions of the situation', with a view to exploring the basis of group definitions, or shared perspectives, and perhaps providing a framework for the development of a typology of subjects.
- ii) What is the relationship between the three respondent groups' 'definition of the situation'? This question was aimed at exploring the perceptual basis for conflict between the different 'interest groups' identified within the research setting.
- iii) What is the relationship between the professionals' perspectives and the aims expressed in the educational ideology associated with the community school? This question sought to examine the relationship between the stated intentions and the reality of the school-based experiment in community education in practice, and thus, the constraints on the implementation of the community school's ideals.

Broad analytical questions such as these assisted in the initial stages of analysis by providing a basis for organising the material into patterns, categories and descriptive units. The interpretation of the data was guided by the development of a materialist-oriented theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 3 in which two potential

areas were hypothesised for the analysis of conflict: an intra-professional debate between the 'established' and 'emergent' educational ideologies; and the school-community class-based conflict between the 'providers' and 'consumers' of the educational experiment. This development of theory gave rise to a series of more specific, albeit complementary, analytical questions, which assisted in the interpretation of the data, in the explanation of structures and processes apparent within the descriptive material and a clearer delineation of concepts that might be valuable in the study. Key analytical questions related to the intra-professional ideological debate were:

- i) What elements of the emergent educational ideology are expressed by professional respondents in WHEC's educational environment and in what form? What elements are absent?
- ii) What elements of the established 'schooling' ideology are expressed and in what form?
- iii) Are there ideological elements, beliefs or arguments that are specific to certain groups, and if so, which groups?
- iv) How do the professionals group together according to their ideological 'definitions of the situation'? Do their perceptions relate to occupational positions or other 'social' criteria?

Key analytical questions related to the school-community conflict were:

- i) In what ways do local respondents' definitions, perceptions and

understandings of the community school complement or contradict those expressed by the WHBC professional staff or local authority representatives?

- ii) To what extent is the community school perceived as a community resource serving local people's needs, as defined by local residents and as defined by professional groups?
- iii) What is the perceptual basis for local support and participation in the community school? How is non-participation perceived and explained?
- iv) What are the similarities/differences between professionals' and locals' definitions of education, leisure, school and community?
- v) What are the ideological grounds for the development of a school-community relationship in practice?

This theoretical framework was taken as both hypothetico-deductive and inductive, since it was developed and operationalised during the analytic stage and, to some extent, 'emerged' from the qualitative data. But also it has helped to refine the focus and definition of 'conflict' in the study and has been instrumental in the development of other concepts which were then applied to, and tested by, the data. Qualitative analysis and theory development became intertwined in this stage of the research.

4.7. ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES

A major problem in the analysis of qualitative data exists in the volume of material generated, varying in its degree of structure and comparability, that must be transcribed, read repeatedly and absorbed by the analyst. Procedures designed to order and classify the data have presented one of the main challenges for qualitative research since these are crucial to the inductive analytical process. Examples of classificatory procedures are seen in Barton and Lazarsfeld's construction of typologies (1969), Glaser and Strauss' constant comparative method of analysis (1967), and Lofland's analytic file construction (1971). These techniques are valuable analytical tools since they preserve the richness and detail contained in the data, as articulated by the informants. In contrast, quantitative procedures for coding are insensitive to descriptive detail by reducing all responses to crude numerical categories designed for measurement.

As noted earlier, the contrasting aims and procedures characteristic of these two analytical techniques have led to a polarisation of the methodological debate and a reluctance by many qualitative researchers to make use of quantitative methods. Indeed, the application of quantitative methods to qualitative data harbours a number of fundamental problems that derive from the informal and unstructured methods of data collection which restrict the range of statistical techniques available to the qualitative analyst and the uses to which the statistical analysis can be put. However, despite these restrictions, quantitative methods have provided a valuable analytical procedure mainly in terms of their summary and exploratory uses. Following on from, and extending, the mixed methodological approaches

employed by sociologists such as Newby (1979) and Shapiro (1973) and recommended by Patton (1980), an attempt was made in this study to combine, in an essentially qualitative analysis, certain statistical procedures to clarify and verify the interpretation and analysis of the data. Quantitative methods of analysis were used for several purposes:

i) For summary purposes: The presentation of certain aspects of the data in tabular form in the text, combined with a more descriptive evaluation of the data contained in the table, provided a useful and concise method of referral to the data. The coding of data for quantitative purposes also assisted in the process of combing through and absorbing the transcript data for qualitative analysis.

ii) As an exploratory tool to suggest relationships and structures that may exist in the data and that may not have been revealed in the qualitative analysis: The production of numerous two-dimensional cross-tabulations of variables served to illuminate a number of relationships between sub-groups in the sample that could be further investigated and checked in the qualitative material. For example, there were indications in some of the cross-tabulations that local authority representatives and local residents held similar attitudes to schooling, but the underlying reasons or motives for these similarities could be revealed only by the more detailed qualitative data. Likewise, the relationships between the leisure activities of groups of respondents and the motives that individuals reported for these indicated a stronger relationship between WHEC-style activities and the leisure motivation factors reported by WHEC staff than those reported by local residents. These relationships may not have been

revealed by purely qualitative analysis. More complex statistical methods of analysis were applied to the structured question on the purposes of schooling to explore the possible existence of groupings within the samples, beyond the hypothesised division between local residents, WHEC staff and local government officials. These groupings would not have been as clearly defined through the use of purely qualitative techniques of analysis.

iii) To check the consistency and reliability of the findings indicated by the more impressionistic analysis: This procedure helped to determine how much confidence to place in the interpretative analysis and to present the data in such a way as to enable others to verify and validate the findings. It was frequently the case that the interpretative analysis of an issue was clarified and supported by cross-checking the insight with a statistical representation of it. For example, the notion that local peoples' positive orientation to WHEC as a community facility reflected a broad-based disposition to living in Wester Hailes could be checked by referring to cross-tabulations of local residents' attitudes to Wester Hailes (Q26) with their attitudes to WHEC (Q25), their user status (Q5), and their assessment of WHEC's impact on the community (Q44). Also, the increasingly clear distinction within the sample between those with 'traditional' educational beliefs and attitudes and those with 'progressive' ones could be verified by reference to the relevant cross-tabulations, and demarcated by the use of Cluster Analysis.

The main limitation in the use of quantitative methods of analysis in this study was found in the unstandardised form of the questions and resultant data owing to the heterogenous nature of the sample. Certain

topic areas were asked of one group and not another (e.g., local policy, Wester Hailes community, leisure) and different forms of a question about the same topic area were asked of different respondents (e.g. experience of WHEC, work details). Consequently, the general lack of comparability between respondents on certain topic areas has restricted the systematic application of statistical techniques. It has also resulted in the total number of respondents included in some tables being very small. However, this is shown clearly in the tables where both the absolute frequencies and percentages are given.

Following the lengthy process of transcription, the first stage of analysis involved a simple content analysis of the transcripts, field notes and documents. This was undertaken partly through the compilation of code lists for the interview data. The code lists covered each of the eleven main topics, subdivided into the fifty-seven questions, shown in Appendix A. The coded interview data were subsequently transferred onto coding forms (Appendix C) for transference to computer files to enable the production of frequency tables, cross-tabulations and the application of more complex statistical forms of analysis.

The purpose of systematically combing through and coding the qualitative data in the content analysis was to summarise, classify and order the detailed and descriptive information for easy review and cross-reference and to facilitate the search for processes, themes and relationships within the data. Analytical notes were made continually concerning any insights, categories and processes suggested by the data as the first step towards the creation of 'analytical files'. Coding was a valuable means of indicating the range of attitudes

within the sample on each topic and of suggesting possible areas of difference between sub-groups. A limitation of coding was found to be its insensitivity to the varying emphasis given by informants in their responses. For example, if a particular thought or feeling was expressed repeatedly by a respondent during the course of the interview, it was recorded only once for each question. This crude form of measurement could have been compensated for by the weighting of variable scores. However, this adjustment was not made because the quantitative analysis was not being undertaken for the purposes of statistical inference, but merely to provide a summary and for the purposes of exploration and verification.

Since the interview survey was not designed primarily for quantitative analysis, much of it could not easily be adapted for the application of statistical techniques. Coding reduced all the rich detailed responses to crude numerical categories which, through their continual modification and revision, were mutually exclusive. The data generated through the semi-structured interviews existed in varying degrees of 'codability':

- i) Pre-coded data derived from structured questions (i.e., Q1-9, Q27-28, & Q40). These data could be transferred directly to the coding form in their existing format.
- ii) Easily classifiable data, derived from semi-structured questions, where the response was structured (i.e., Q10-11, Q15, Q18, Q20-22, Q31, Q33, Q45-46, Q56-57). These data were coded as distinct itemised categories relating to the groups, activities or facilities identified by each respondent.

iii) Unclassified data, derived from unstructured and open-ended questions, concerning attitudes, evaluations, perceptions, experiences, reasons, and descriptive detail (i.e., q12- 14, Q16- 17, Q19, Q23- 26, Q29- 30, Q32, Q34- 39, Q41- 44, Q47- 55). For these data, mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories were constructed from a content analysis of each subject's response.

For the purpose of statistical analysis, it was necessary to classify the data into scales of measurement (nominal, ordinal, interval and simple dichotomous) for use as variables. 77% of the responses were classified in the nominal scale which constitutes quantitative measurement at its weakest level.

Once each variable in the code lists had been labelled, frequency tables were produced to obtain a general outline of the content and range of responses to each question. From these 'hole' counts, the initial variables were then re-grouped and labelled to generate two-dimensional cross-tabulations. Similar labels were used as far as possible in order to introduce an element of comparability between categories of responses. For example, attitudinal responses referring to aspects of schools /WHEC were often re-labelled using the broad categories of 'relationships', 'environment' and 'schooling' and subdivided into positive and negative responses. Approximately one hundred cross-tabulations of these variables were produced, scrutinised, re-produced and re-scrutinised in the analytical search for significant relationships within the data. Although the majority of these tables were discarded as meaningless or uninformative, those that did reveal significant relationships between variables and groupings within the sample were transcribed onto cards and entered

into the analytical filing system to assist in the interpretative analysis of the qualitative data.

More complex statistical techniques were used in the analysis of the structured question on the purposes of schooling (Q40) . All thirty-one respondents were asked to select and rank five propositions from a list of thirteen different objectives that schools might pursue. This question was designed to identify whether, and to what extent, different individuals and groups shared common perspectives on the issues of the role of education and attitudes to schooling which are central to the debate about and implementation of, community schooling. A cross-tabulation of variables concerning the three groups of respondents and responses to Q40 had shown a clear contrast between the WHEC professional staff and the other two groups. By ranking variables of Q40 (1 - 13) in terms of their importance for the three groups, a rank correlation coefficient was calculated to 'measure' the similarity between groups and formed the basis for more complex statistical analysis by Multi-Dimensional Scaling (M.D.S.) and Cluster Analysis. These statistical techniques were applied in an attempt to reveal more fully the structure of the relationships between individuals and groups in the sample.

The objective of M.D.S. was to define the relative position of an individual in perceptual space and to 'measure' the distance between individuals in terms of their attitudes to schooling. Thus, a two-dimensional spatial representation of the pattern of attitudinal relationships between individuals was illustrated in a simplified diagrammatic form.

The Cluster Analysis programme also enabled a graphical representation of the clustering of individuals in terms of their attitudes to schooling. The same data were weighted to take into account the ranking of propositions by respondents. The Hierarchical Fusion technique of Cluster Analysis (Everitt, 1978) produced successive groupings of individuals in terms of their similar attitudes and differentiated individuals on the basis of dissimilar attitudes. At the early levels of aggregation, the clustering process identified those with the most similar attitudes. The aggregation process continues until the coefficient of dissimilarity increases to the point where all individuals have been clustered into one group. For the purposes of this analysis, the aggregation process was taken to the level where two groups were identified, since this 'made sense' in terms of the qualitative analysis of the data.

Once the qualitative data had been coded and prepared for quantitative analysis, all the statistical analytical procedures were undertaken by members of staff at the Tourism and Recreation Research Unit in consultation with the researcher.

The main form of qualitative analysis was derived from sifting through the bulk of transcript material and selecting out direct quotations from the main body of interview data. These were transcribed verbatim onto index cards on which the topic area, the subject of the quote, the context in which it was made and the respondent code were noted. Quotations were selected on the basis of the detail they contributed to a variable's explanation and the insight they provided concerning a topic area or analytic category being explored. The selected quotations formed the major part of the impressionistic interpretative

analysis, giving depth and detail to the more superficial content analysis and providing definitions, meanings and attitudes expressed in the subject's own terms. Not all the quotations that were originally selected were used in the final text since the analysis of the qualitative material underwent a continual process of refinement. Concepts and categories were reformulated as theory developed.

The establishment of a flexible filing system for the purpose of grouping and re-grouping data into analytic categories, and ordering and re-ordering topics, was facilitated by the use of separate index cards for each selected quote. Incorporating and interrelating this interview material with field notes, tables and other sources of data was easily achieved with this analytic filing system. All forms of qualitative data were transferred into the card filing system from whence specific items of data could be combined into one, or several, analytic themes. The aim of these 'analytic files' was systematically to transform and organise the qualitative data from its bulky descriptive state of interview transcripts, notes, tables and documents into a 'flexible storage, ordering and retrieval format' (Lofland, 1971: 120) that facilitated the development of new analytic categories and hypotheses. For the optimal use of this 'sociological analytic coding scheme', Lofland advised that multiple copies be made of all the original material in order to maximise the range of categories under which extracts can be filed. This ideal was implemented only to the extent that copies were made of certain material where the attitude/statement/experience content suggested more than one area of analytic significance, in which case a relevant card was entered into each appropriate file.

The early stages of constructing analytic files were characterised by a proliferation of file categories: new categories and files were created as the data prompted. They were later critically assessed in terms of their 'internal homogeneity' and 'external heterogeneity' (Guba, 1978: 53) so that, ideally, only a small number of overlapping or unassignable data items existed. The refinement of the categories in these analytic files was facilitated as the theoretical framework for the analysis became more focused.

The methodology elaborated and assessed in this Chapter provided the framework within which a critical evaluation of a school-based experiment in community education was implemented. The following two Chapters present an analysis of the empirical data, first considering the three main areas which comprise the educational environment of the community school, and secondly, by examining the interaction of respondents' perceptions of 'education', 'leisure', 'school' and 'community' which are seen as concepts that are central to the ideology of community education. In this way, the 'practical ideologies' of community education may also be understood.

CHAPTER 5: THE EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT OF A COMMUNITY SCHOOL (WHEC)

5.1. THE RESEARCH SETTING

5.2. COMMUNITY SCHOOL POLICY IN LOTHIAN REGION

5.3. WESTER HAILES EDUCATION CENTRE

5.4. THE WESTER HAILES COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 comprises an examination of the research setting as a background to an analysis of the practical ideologies of the three constituent groups of interest identified in WHEC's educational environment, viz., local government officials and elected representatives, WHEC's staff and residents of Wester Hailes.

After a descriptive account of the creation of the community school experiment in the local authority housing scheme of Wester Hailes in section 5.1. of this chapter, the political development and ideological content of the local policy on community schools is examined in section 5.2. The WHEC experiment in community schooling is then examined in section 5.3. from the viewpoint of its internal community of staff and pupils through their perceptions of WHEC as a workplace/school. Finally, in section 5.4., the viewpoints of the surrounding community of local residents are examined, in terms not only of their perceptions of the local environment as a residential community, but also of their attitudes to 'community' activities, whether based in the local area or in WHEC.

5.1. THE RESEARCH SETTING

WHEC has provided the focus for the fieldwork in this research because it is a local example of an experiment in the newly emergent ideology of community education. An institutional context for a community education project was chosen because it was seen as providing a setting in which 'traditional' and 'emergent' educational ideologies

would co-exist, so that their interaction could be studied. WHEC is an example of the interpretation and implementation of the informal approach of community education within a local education authority's formal system of schooling provision.

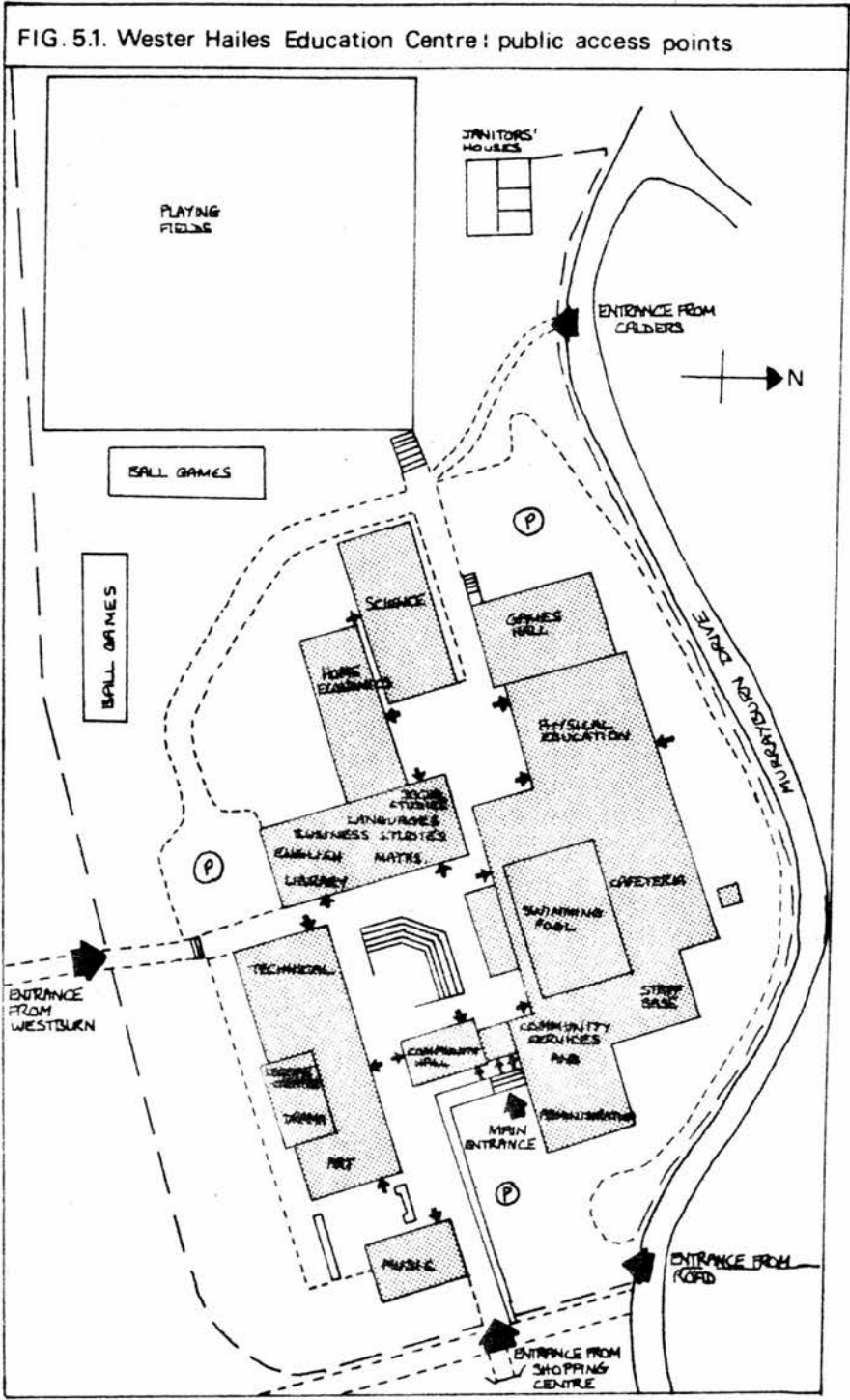
5.1.1. The School

WHEC was opened in August 1978 as Lothian Region's first, and greatly prized, purpose-built community school. The provision of WHEC effectively met three needs for the local authority:

- i) The immediate requirement for a secondary school in Wester Hailes to serve the rapidly growing population of school age.
- ii) The shortage of recreational and community provision in Wester Hailes, especially for young people whose unconstructive use of their spare time was regarded as an escalating problem.
- iii) The growing political interest in the community school concept which needed an experimental outlet.

WHEC was originally designed and built for 1400 pupils, but within the first three years of its operation, the size of the 11 - 16 year old population exceeded this number. The problem of this 'temporary bulge' was eventually resolved by providing temporary classroom units on WHEC's campus. In addition, WHEC aims to serve the same catchment in Wester Hailes for non-statutory formal and informal education. In this way, WHEC is an educational resource for all ages in the local community. In terms of sports and recreational provision, however, WHEC provides a resource not only for Wester Hailes, but also for the wider catchment of the west of the City of Edinburgh.

Purpose-built as a community school, WHEC was specifically designed for open access to the public. This is illustrated in Figure 5.1. which shows the physical layout of its three main blocks and the many points of public access from the central campus area.



The main 'community' block includes a number of facilities designed to attract those beyond school age, for example, a 'leisure' swimming pool, cafeteria, indoor sports facilities, a community hall, community lounges and a crèche. The interview survey indicated that for local respondents the pool/cafeteria area provides a focus for all the different types of user coming into WHEC, for whatever purpose and however frequently; but the pool is the major public attraction. At its peak period in summer 1979, approximately 8,000 members of the public were recorded for swimming each week, with an average rate of about 5,000 per week at the time of the interview survey (Jan. - Feb., 1980).

The other buildings on WHEC's campus are mainly ones used for teaching, but within these are a school-community library, practical and workshop areas, a drama studio and music rooms. The outdoor areas include sports pitches, kick-about areas and car-parking space. Although WHEC's buildings may be identified as separate school and community components, and indeed are perceived as such by many local residents, the complex is designed and managed as an integrated facility.

5.1.2. The Community

Wester Hailes is an area of local authority housing situated about six miles from the centre of Edinburgh on the south-west periphery of the City. Construction of housing began in 1967 and was completed in late 1975. The scheme was planned and built to accommodate a high density of population so that most of the buildings are high-rise flats of five storeys or more, concentrated in the community areas of Westburn,

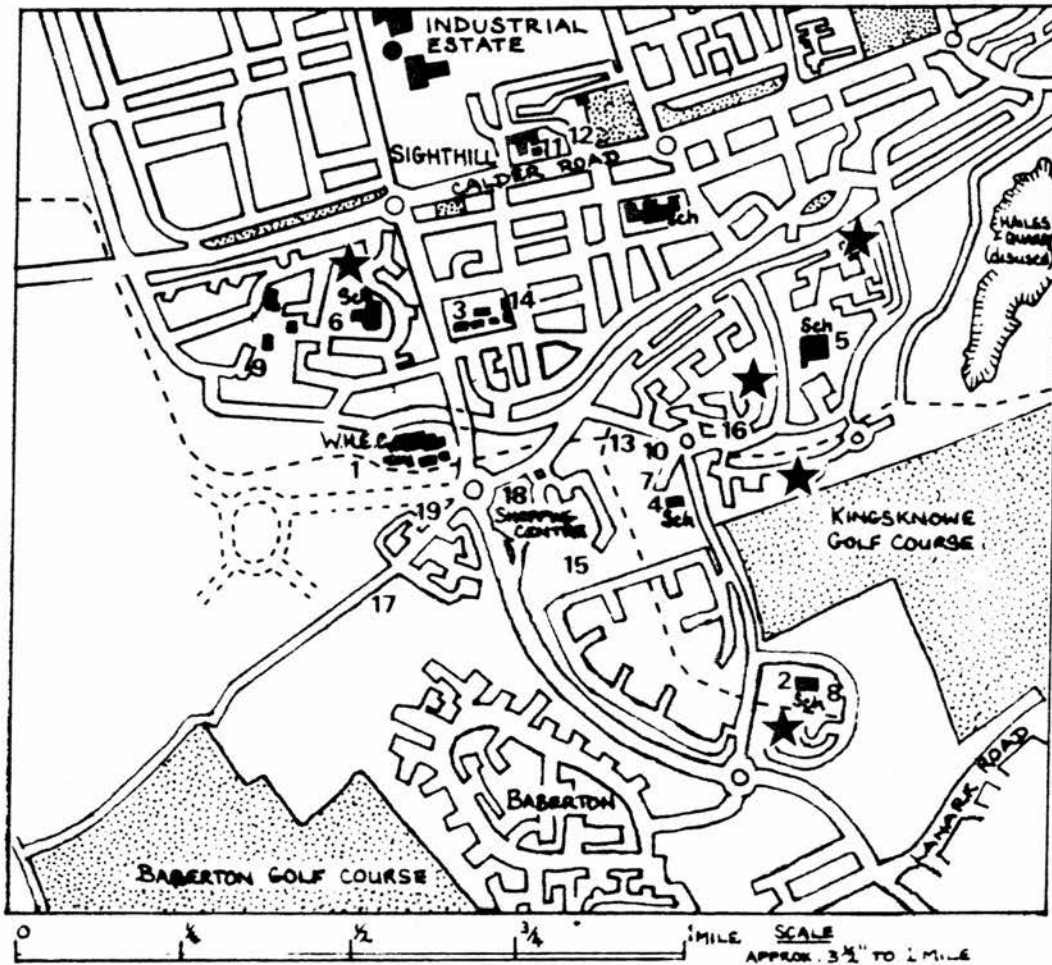
Hailesland and Park and Drive, with the remainder consisting of low-rise maisonettes and terraced houses.

The Wester Hailes housing scheme was subdivided into six smaller community areas (Wester Hailes Park and Drive, Clovenstone, Westburn, Murrayburn, Dumbryden and Hailesland), and is also adjoined by a smaller area of local authority housing, the Calders estate, which is not considered by local people to be part of Wester Hailes because of its earlier construction, its separation from the larger scheme by Wester Hailes Road and its independence in terms of shopping and community facilities.

The educational catchment zone of WHEC covers all these seven areas, each of which has its own local identity. Indeed, local residents hold a stronger identity with these smaller areas than with the Wester Hailes community as a whole. Thus, the peripheral location of WHEC on the western fringe of the housing scheme, shown in Figure 5.2., carries the disadvantage of being identified by tenants more with the nearby neighbourhoods of Westburn and Calders than with the more distant areas, such as Dumbryden and Clovenstone.

The housing scheme was built and immediately occupied, but was supplied with very few social and community facilities for the growing population of tenants. Before the opening of WHEC in August 1978, the Wester Hailes locality was still served by only its four primary schools, a shopping centre, a few corner shops, a bus service, a hotel and a petrol station. For all other amenities, it was necessary to travel outside the area. From the viewpoint of the residents of Wester Hailes, one of the most worrying aspects of life in the housing scheme

FIG. 5.2. WESTER HAILES : COMMUNITY FACILITIES, 1981



- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. WESTER HAILES EDUCATION CENTRE | 13. COMMUNITY WORKSHOP & CAFÉ
VENCHIE, THRIFT SHOP &
ADVENTURE PLAYGROUND |
| 2. CLOVENSTONE PRIMARY SCHOOL | 14. ST. GILES (YOP SCHEME) |
| 3. WESTBURN PRIMARY SCHOOL &
CALDERGLEN NURSERY SCHOOL | 15. SOCIAL WORK DEPARTMENT |
| 4. HAILES LAND PRIMARY SCHOOL | 16. RENT OFFICE |
| 5. DUMBRYDEN PRIMARY SCHOOL | 17. ALLOTMENTS |
| 6. CALDERS PRIMARY SCHOOL | 18. THE SHOPPING CENTRE & MAIN
BUS SERVICE AREA |
| 7. HAILES LAND COMMUNITY CENTRE | 19. THE FISH & CHIP SHOP |
| 8. CLOVENSTONE COMMUNITY CENTRE | |
| 9. CALDERS COMMUNITY CENTRE | |
| 10. HAILES LAND CHILDREN'S CENTRE
AND 'FISH' BASE | |
| 11. SIGHTHILL HEALTH CENTRE | |
| 12. FIRE STATION | |



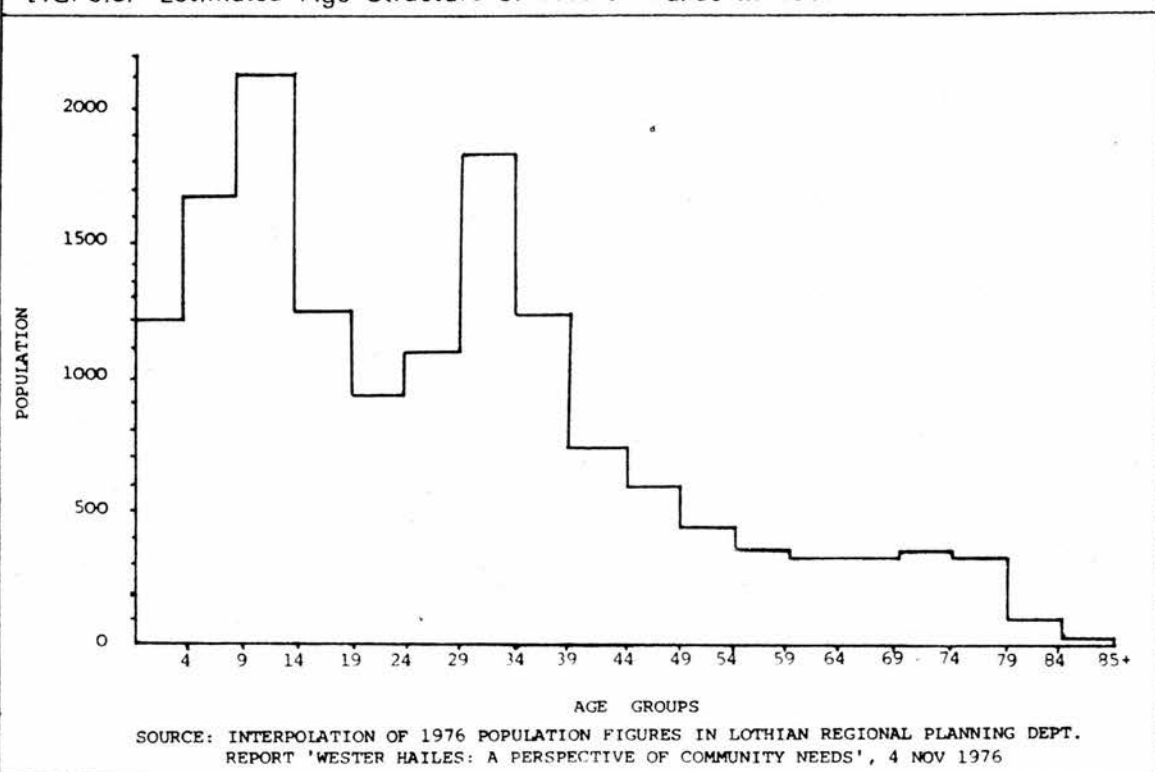
LOCAL SHOPS

in 1977 was the high rate of tenant mobility into and out of the area owing to the high rents and heating costs, the lack of facilities and the disadvantages of high-rise living (The Wester Hailes Residents, 1977:11). The deficiencies of the housing scheme were recognised by local authority planners when Wester Hailes was described in a report by the Community Research Section of Edinburgh District Council's Planning Department as a 'rapidly developing new housing estate with the typical tenant problems of social and community facilities developing out of phase, after the development of housing' (Edinburgh District Council, 1976:1)

Certainly, the population of the area has grown apace. Originally, the scheme was designed for a population of 17,250. By 1976, its population was already estimated to be over 14,000 (Edinburgh District Council, 1976:8), while the estimate for the Wester Hailes population in 1980 is given at over 16,500. (This latter estimate is based on District Council electoral rolls (Feb. 1981-82); primary and secondary school enrolment figures for 1980; and a survey of the under-5's by Lothian Regional Education Department (Sept. 1979)). As important as the total population is its composition which is strongly skewed towards the younger age groups, as shown in Figure 5.3.

In 1976, 77% of the population was under 39 years and 38% under 14 years. Conversely, the proportion of elderly and retired persons (65 years and over) was relatively small - 6.5% in Wester Hailes compared with 14.2% in the United Kingdom as a whole. This bulge in the school-age sector of Wester Hailes' population, together with the previously severe shortage of community and recreational facilities in the neighbourhood, contributed to the 'youth problem' which was seen

FIG. 5.3. Estimated Age Structure of Wester Hailes in 1981



to exist in Wester Hailes. The reality of this problem was recently confirmed by a Scottish Office research report which showed that the Hailes/Slateford ward ranked high in terms of social indicators of child poverty and youth problems in comparison to the rest of Edinburgh District and the Lothian Region (Table 5.1).

The perceived gravity of this 'youth problem' in Wester Hailes was also illustrated in a report for the Planning Department in relation to the lack of leisure provision in the area:

"The seriousness of the impending predicament regarding the non-constructive use of leisure time by this age group cannot be overstressed and already there are clear indications from such agencies as the Social Work Department, Community Education, Police as well as Ministers of Religion and Voluntary groups, that the situation is deteriorating and instances of vandalism as well as other more serious forms of anti-social behaviour are on the increase. The recreative needs of this increasingly numerous and active group of the population must be examined in a positive manner if the worst fears of the residents, elected members and officials regarding the vast social

and environmental problems of large housing estates are not to be realised." (Edinburgh District Council, 1976:13)

TABLE 5.1.: WESTER HAILES - SOCIAL INDICATORS AND THE YOUNG				
<u>Social Indicator</u>	<u>Wester Hailes Ranking:</u>			
	Within Edinburgh District	Within Lothian Region	Wester Hailes	Lothian Region
	Rank		Percentage	
Children receiving clothing grants	2	7	2	1
Children receiving free school meals	1	1	70	26
Youth unemployment	1	6	25	10
Children referred to the Reporter	1	2	8	3
R.S.P.C.C. referrals	3	2	0.3	0.1
Eviction orders	1	1	9	4
Non-payment of electricity bills	3	3	3	1
<u>Source:</u> Scottish Office Central Research Unit: 'A Register of Social and Medical Indicators by Local Government in Edinburgh and the Lothians.' Feb.1980				

The problem of young people's 'non-constructive use of leisure time' in Wester Hailes has become exacerbated in the 1980s by the rising rate of unemployment in the community. In the year 1980/81, unemployment rose in Wester Hailes by over 50%, in comparison to a 37% increase in the Lothian Region as a whole. The 16-21 years old age group has been affected most severely by the nationally declining demand for labour. It was claimed that 4 out of 5 in this age group in

Wester Hailes is unemployed (Wester Hailes Sentinel, June 1981: 5).

One response to the difficulties experienced by the Wester Hailes community as a whole has been the formation of groups of local residents prepared to involve themselves actively in ameliorating their own situation. For example, a number of Tenants Groups now exists in Wester Hailes which developed initially from the needs of the first local residents for basic social amenities and recreational and community facilities in the housing scheme. In July 1981 the escalating problem of unemployment led to the opening of an Unemployed Workers Centre in Wester Hailes, one of eight in Scotland (S.C.A.N., Sept. 1981: 11- 12). To this extent at least, community consciousness is shown to be forming and being consolidated in Wester Hailes. The high turnover of tenants that characterised Wester Hailes in its earlier years has slowed down within some of the community areas providing the local area with increasing stability (WHEC, 1978).

The key question is whether WHEC can benefit from, and contribute to, this developing community of Wester Hailes.

In considering the role of each of the three main groups in the history of WHEC's development, Fletcher's notion of 'epochs' (1979) provides a useful schematic framework for the analysis of their progressive involvement in the community school experiment.

The initial epoch in WHEC's development was dominated by the involvement of the local government group. They were responsible for the policy-making, planning and allocation of resources to the

project, and thus were the primary participants in the funding , the commissioning of construction and the staffing and opening of the community school.

The second epoch included the planning and programming of the Wester Hailes complex, organising teaching departments, setting up courses and establishing relationships within and outside the community school. These tasks were the preoccupation of WHEC's professional staff for the most part.

In Fletcher's schema, the third group, the local community, comes to the fore in the next epoch - the most critical developmental stage in the sense of determining to what extent it becomes a 'community' school in fact, and not merely one in name . The mode of operation established in the first and second epochs is seen to determine the subsequent nature and extent of local involvement in the life of the community school. Failure to set precedents and to create an adequate framework for school - community involvement in these initial periods by the political -professional groups is seen as detrimental to the subsequent development of the community school. However, the potentialities for real involvement by the community in such an educational experiment are theoretically questionable (refer Chapter 3.4.). It is argued that the extent of community involvement in any of Fletcher's developmental epochs is largely determined by the origins of the enterprise, i.e. whether the community school arose as a result of local-based needs and initiatives, or whether it was a project launched by the professional body of educationalists and politicians. Since the latter situation is applicable to WHEC, the community school can be regarded as a 'technocratic' development in

educational ideology and new forms of provision, without any real roots in the educational needs and cultural interests of the local community.

5.2. COMMUNITY SCHOOL POLICY IN LOTHIAN REGION

Section 5.2. of this Chapter is concerned with the local history of community schools through an examination of the emergence of the ideology of holistic education in the form of a community school policy and the further integration of school and community facilities in the Lothian Region. It includes information derived from local education authority documents and interviews with local government employees and representatives involved in the educational environment of Wester Hailes Education Centre. It outlines:

- i) The convergence of programmes for educational and recreational buildings, leading to the integrated community school 'package';
- ii) the political development of community school policy; and
- iii) the formal arguments, or educational discourse, expressed in it.

5.2.1. The Integration of School and Community Provision

The spatial convergence of school and community interests was first established in the Lothian area in the early 1960s when the former Midlothian County Council's Education Committee adopted a policy of building community wings attached, linked or adjacent to primary schools (Lothian Regional Council, Working Party paper on "The School vis-a-vis Community Education" 14.6.78).

Midlothian's initial experiments in the combination of primary school and community facilities all operated under a dual management which assured that school and community interests remained separate. School interests retained a higher priority over the use and allocation of space and the headteachers of the school remained in ultimate control over decision-making affecting the school, either directly or indirectly. It was agreed that local people should have the right of access to certain school facilities (e.g., the gym, the dining hall, the assembly hall) outside school periods, i.e., in the evenings, weekends and school holidays. Difficulties in this scheme of management were experienced and reported in five out of the ten primary schools with community wings, largely because of competition between school and community objectives and interests over the dual use of school facilities.

The problems of management experienced with a divided organisational structure in these first schemes of joint provision influenced the later decision by the Education Committee of the new Lothian Region regarding the adoption of a unitary, or single line, management structure for the community secondary schools which have opened since 1978.

Some of the local authority officials interviewed claimed that an integrated, unitary system of management allows greater 'consistency' in the administration and control of a multi-purpose complex and rationalises conflicts and antagonisms between the different components and interests constituent to a community school:

25LG: "...consistency of policy, no ambiguity in terms of responsibility of the manager, be it Headmaster or anyone else, ...It's better than two people, particularly when they're responsible to two

Committees, or perhaps even more important, two Authorities. Then you will get possible conflict in philosophy, priority of use, charges. These things are more easily resolved if you have a single structure where the buck stops there, and that person is responsible for implementing the policy determined by that single group. It's a much more logical system."

Lothian Region's unitary management structure is a distinctive feature of its recent policy for community schools. It reflects a belief in the development of a more integrated network of local-based educational services focused on, and centred within, the community secondary school:

24LG: "Well, I think the most immediate element of it (unitary management policy) is the fact that all the functions that the Education Authority are responsible for are operating in the one building, under one management and therefore one development team."

The move towards the integration of school and community provision, culminating in Lothian Region's present community school policy, was the outcome of a series of political, educational and recreational planning coincidences within the newly organised Lothian Regional Council. It was also partially due to the reorganization of local government in Scotland in 1975 and the trend towards the adoption of a 'community' approach to the planning and provision of public services that the community school movement developed in Lothian Region.

The local authority's projected building programme for new secondary schools (Wester Hailes, Livingston, Balerno and Penicuik) and new recreational and community facilities, and the coincidence of this with the growth of the community school concept in the Region in the mid-1970s, were seen as a major factors in the development of a community school policy in Lothian Region. Wester Hailes became the main target for the Education Committee's experiment with the idea of an integrated community school :

27LG "It was a combination of the two things - of the fact that we were looking at the whole concept of community schools on the one hand, and on the other hand the fact that Wester Hailes - which happened to be the next one in the pipeline of secondary schools- also happened to have extra resources available for a swimming pool and other recreational facilities. And we thought this was a good opportunity to bring the two together, and see how the community school concept works with a good provision of resources."

22LG "If you take the Wester Hailes situation, it was known that they'd have to build some sort of school there. Community Education were thinking of building some sort of community centre there. And then I suppose Leisure Services were thinking of doing something as well. And it seemed logical to try and bring the three things together. And then somebody'd heard about community schools and that seemed like a good idea - mainly George Foulkes - and so that's what happened."

Even in 1967, in the initial planning and construction stages of Wester Hailes, a joint provision scheme of a secondary school with additional community - leisure facilities was envisaged. However, the considerable delay in building this school in Wester Hailes, owing to difficulties encountered with Scottish Education Department regulations and a joint Committee structure, meant that in 1976 a jointly-funded and integrated school-community facility was approved by the Education Committee, becoming their first 'community school' since the concept was assimilated into local educational policy. Thereafter, policy dictated that all other new schools planned in the Region should also be designed, constructed and managed as integrated 'community schools'. This effected the new schools in Livingston (Deans and Inveralmond), Dedridge, Balerno, Penicuik (Beeslack), and the school-sports complex at Lasswade High School.

The expansion of facilities in the school brought about by the community-leisure dimension was based upon the economic rationale of cost-effectiveness in joint-funding and inter-service cooperation. It was realized financially by supplementing the Main Education

Programme's capital allowance with an allocation from the General Services Programme, the budget of which usually provides funding for projects relating to Community Education, Leisure Services, Social Work, Industrial Development and other services. The capital allocation for the community school programme in Lothian Region for the financial year 1981/82 is shown in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2.: CAPITAL ALLOCATION FOR THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROGRAMME IN LOTHIAN REGION			
<u>Community School Projects</u> (New and in Progress)	<u>Approved Project Costs</u> (Nov. 1980 Price Levels)		
	Main Education Programme	General Services Programme	Total
	(\$ million)		
Wester Hailes Education Centre	4.51(18)	2.43(58)*	7.0(24)
Deans Community High School	3.67(14)	0.33(8)	4.0(13)
Inveralmond Community High School	4.32(17)	0.35(8)	4.7(16)
Dedridge/Bankton Community High School	4.77(19)	0.20(5)	5.0(17)
Balerno Community High School	3.82(15)	0.62(15)	4.4(15)
Beeslack Community High School	4.30(17)	0.25(6)	4.6(15)
Total	25.45(100)	4.18(100)	29.63
*78% of this cost was incurred by WHEC's 'leisure' swimming pool.			
Source: Lothian Regional Council, Capital Budget 1981/82.			

Lothian Region's community school programme constituted 57% of the total expenditure on educational projects to which 54% of the Main

Education Programme's 1981/82 budget was contributed. By contrast, 84% of the General Services Programme's 1981/82 budget was contributed to the Region's community school programme, 78% of which was spent on the provision of a 'leisure pool' in WHEC. Similarly, of all the Community Education projects funded in 1981/82, 60% of the capital from the General Services Programme was allocated for the provision of community facilities in schools (Lothian Regional Council, Capital Budget 1981/82). Although a greater proportion of the annual capital resources of the General Services Programme, and Community Education in particular, was allocated to community schools and school-based provision, the power of the staff of Community Education in the community schools programme is very weak. The greater power and control in community schools of the Education Authority's 'school' service was regarded as contradictory to the belief expressed in joint projects and inter-service cooperation:

"It is a major issue for the Community Education service that a considerable investment is being made over which it has no control." (Internal Working Paper, 'Community Schools and the Community Education Service in Lothian Region')

22LG: "We (Community Education) put \$3/4 million into Wester Hailes but really that was just to put an extra 5 metres on the swimming pool, another badminton court in the Games Hall and a Community Lounge. I don't know whether we've got good value for money or not."

Similarly, respondents from the Community Education staff had found themselves to be disenfranchised from consultation in the planning and operation of community schools:

21LG: "They (WHEC) questioned his right to be at the meeting on the grounds that we'd got nothing to do with community schools. And strictly speaking they're right. But I think we've got an investment in those schools financially in terms of staff there and we've also got an educational investment. We shouldn't have community schools and community education separate. They're should be a real coming together."

Such 'joint' funding of community schools refers only to capital allocation to the programme. Once constructed, the operational costs, staffing and maintenance are met by the Education Department from its budget. The power of the Community Education, and likewise the Leisure, components of the jointly-funded and integrated projects are, thus, curtailed at an early stage in the developmental history of a community school.

5.2.2. The Political Development of Community School Policy

In his study of the development of a community school complex in Nottinghamshire, Fletcher(1979) wrote that :

"A community complex depends on a specific alliance..... A series of relationships is established which goes far beyond those necessary for solely traditional achievements. (Fletcher, 1979, Ch. 13).

Lothian Region's experiment in the ideology of holistic education in the institutional form of the community school owes its origins to a powerful alliance of local politicians and educationalists. They supported the value of innovation, expansion and integration in schooling on the basis of a more cost-effective use of existing resources and the need to promote more positive attitudes to participation in education.

In Lothian Region, the alliance formed during the first 'epoch' of the development of community schooling . It served as a political lobby for the community school concept and was centred in local educational and political circles. It benefitted from the strong political leadership of the Labour Councillor, George Foulkes. The political

alliance comprised a 'series of relationships' between individuals in 'key' strategic positions within the local education authority's network of professionals (Councillors, administrators, headteachers, teachers), who had access to 'key ' resources, most importantly the media (e.g., Scotsman, 19.4.78; 6.11.78; Guardian, April, 1978) .They shared a common belief in the need for educational reform and the 'new' ideology of lifelong/community education and community schooling and campaigned for its promotion and adoption, each within his own particular sphere of influence:

27LG "I think the other thing is that you need a few people in key positions who are disciples or advocates, who are enthusiasts about the whole concept."

The political alliance was instrumental in the gradual emergence of, and struggle between, the new future-oriented educational ideology and the orthodoxy of traditional ideas and forms of schooling. Similar to the national community school movement in Great Britain, the local alliance acted as a pressure group within the local politico-professional educational body in which the mainstream ideology of schooling predominated.

Lothian Regional Council was reputed to be a 'radical' Labour-controlled local authority. In 1972, the Labour Group took control of the former Edinburgh Corporation and remained the dominant party in the Regional Council from reorganisation in 1975 until 1982. In the local government elections held before local government reorganisation in Scotland, Councillor George Foulkes was elected as Chairman of the Education Committee. During his period in office (1974-1979), he became renowned as the main exponent of the community school in the Council:

22LG: "With the same breath as they talked about Wester Hailes (Community School) as a good idea, they talked about George Foulkes and saw him being really the driving force behind them. Now that's really very subjective, but that's how he's seen".

Councillor Foulkes played a vital political role in conveying the community school concept enthusiastically to other powerful professional groups (other councillors, the local Labour Group and the Region's Education Directorate) which were instrumental in its adoption as educational policy. The circulation of literature about the community school concept, discussions with individuals involved with community school projects in England and Grampian Region and excursions to visit these schools were all arranged by George Foulkes for interested members of the Education Committee and the Directorate. In this way, the English experiments and experiences in community schooling became influential amongst the local group of professional educationalists in Lothian Region during the initial stages of planning and policy-making.

Councillor Foulkes' keen political will was effective in recruiting other educationalists in Lothian Region to the alliance and in 'spreading the word' about community schools to a wider audience in Lothian Region's educational institutions. Thus, a local authority Education official interviewed recounted how he had 'caught the community school bug' :

24LG "So I got very hooked on it. I mean personally, because I think it's one of the ways we should be going... I have a personal commitment to the ideology of the community school. I would work, and do work, very hard to see Wester Hailes succeed, and I'm urging a number of our other High Schools to become community-oriented High Schools with a view to becoming community schools.... I did a lot of talking 'cos I was very concerned that a lot of people didn't understand what a community school was going to be, and what the difference is between the operation of it and an ordinary school would be. So I had myself invited to staff room after staff room in the

High Schools in Edinburgh, really to allay fears and prejudices but also to get people to join - y'know doing a propaganda campaign... I did a performance about the ideology of the community school."

It is worth noting that this local political alliance often conveyed a prophetic tone in its educational ideology, as is shown by the rhetoric used in reference to community schooling. For example, the following expressions used in interviews with local politicians and educationalists portrayed their view of the futuristic orientation of their educational reforms: 'spreading the word', 'getting our message across', 'having a burning fire' about the idea, 'convert', 'propaganda campaign'. Just as Henry Morris was reputed as the original 'prophet' of the village college/community college concept in Britain (Ree, 1973), so the Principals of Lothian Region's first community schools were sometimes spoken of as 'visionaries' and at other times as 'unusual' or 'extraordinary' people because of the greater demands and complexities of their jobs.

Lothian Region's Education Committee became involved with the community school concept when it was adopted locally as Labour Party policy. The ideals of community education are closely linked with the political ideology of the Labour Party in which it is seen as an educational response to contemporary problems created by a changing society (SCAN, May, 1979). In its educational policy statement, the Scottish Council of the Labour Party identified the beliefs shared with community education as the principles of equality of opportunity, public participation and self-help (Scottish Journal of Youth and Community Work, 1976, 3.2.). Also, the common belief in positive discrimination was seen by Foulkes to have played an important role in the adoption of a policy of community schooling by the Labour-

controlled Education Committee in Lothian Region. For example, Wester Hailes was viewed as a 'deprived' area appropriate for the siting of the first community school experiment in Lothian Region, since the local working class community hold a generally disillusioned and negative attitude to education, or in one respondent's words, they lack a 'culture of education':

20S:"...a lot of them are alienated from the education system, the whole process of the education system. They feel cheated by the education system's 'myth of education'- that through education you move upwards socially. The myth's even less likely to be successful in the future because we're no longer an expanding economy."

The positive discrimination element of the contemporary community school concept was first adopted by the EPA projects in the late 1960s and was part of the Labour government's compensatory 'community' programme. The greater input of educational resources and opportunities in deprived areas and a more informal 'community' approach were intended to compensate for social inequalities evident in the education system. According to Jones in her study of the community colleges in England (1978) , the implementation of a positive discrimination policy 'falls down heavily' in its own terms:

"For those who benefit from the facilities provided tend to be those who are already educationally and socially advantaged" (Jones, 1978, 106).

In this way, the equation of the community school movement in Scotland with a educational strategy of the state which aims to compensate 'deprived' areas and 'disadvantaged' groups is criticised by the Brewsters(1979) as an ameliorative educational policy which not only leaves the more fundamental social inequalities unresolved, but also exacerbates existing educational inequalities by concentrating 'social' education in working class areas.

Despite the political enthusiasm generated by Foulkes amongst a section of the local professional education community and the consequent community school 'boom' in 1978 (Scotsman, 6.11.78), the policy on community schools was viewed by respondents below the higher management (policy-making) level in the local education authority as 'vague' and 'ill-defined' in its ideology, underlying motives and long-term objectives.

21LG: "In attempting to look at community schools in an organised way I've been frustrated by the lack of policy. The aims and objectives when expressed are very general and vague. It seems to me we now have a number of community schools working on an ad hoc basis... It never really spells out the sort of underlying ideology and philosophy of why they're doing various things."

22LG: "I think they have some vague notion about a slightly different type of school for the pupils and that it should have some kind of community dimensions, but I don't think anyone's got a very clear idea about what that involves...There isn't really any clear thinking about it Regionally."

The policy-makers' apparent lack of commitment to the underlying ideology of community schooling was further perceived in the Region's predominantly facility-oriented approach:

20S: "... I think the thinking at Regional level is about facilities and it's not about the ideology or even about how these facilities can be used."

22LG: "They (Education Committee) see a community school as being a school that has a lot of extras added that wouldn't have been there had it not been a community school- like a swimming pool, or an extra

From the viewpoint of the policy-making echelons of the local education authority (Education Committee, Directorate, higher management), the experimental status of the community school programme was seen to justify the vagueness of Regional policy (Director's Report, 1979/582). In 1977, the Education Committee had declared its

policy to be "...to develop the community school/college and to encourage the community use of all educational premises at all times". At this time, its policy consisted of three main elements:

- i) The community use of all schools with a surplus capacity, e.g., those with declining rolls or under-used facilities;
- ii) in new schools, the integration of school and community provision in the form of multi-purpose community schools;
- iii) the operation of a unitary management structure.

The Directorate and the Education Committee were aware of the class/cultural differences that would constrain the successful realization of community schooling in 'deprived' areas, and that problems of management, administration, staffing, training and finance were likely to arise during the early stages of their schooling experiment. Thus, in 1978 the Education Committee set up three Working Parties to examine the potential problems of their community school policy. They reported on the community school concept (Nov. 1978), the community use of schools (May, 1979) and letting policies for schemes involving community use. In 1979, the Education Committee allocated finance for a three year research project designed to examine the feasibility of integrated school -community provision in Lothian Region and to guide any future developments. It was decided that no further community schools would be designated until the research project had made its final report.

The community school programme has been further constrained by the national economic recession from the late 1970s and central government's increasing control over local authority expenditure

through cutbacks in the rate support grant. Both the report by the Director of Education (79/582) and the local government respondents made it clear that the higher capital expenditure , resource allocation and operational costs of the designated purpose-built community schools have limited the further expansion of the Region's existing policy and programme. The receding political and professional support and interest with the loss of Councillor Foulkes from the local political scene through his election to Parliament was also regarded as detrimental to the continued pursuit of the community school programme in the form, and on the scale, previously implemented. The loss of control in 1982 by the Labour Party in the Regional Council is also expected to be detrimental to the continued development of community schools. Future policy was expected to regress to merely an emphasis on community use of schools and the development of more community-oriented secondary schools relying on external sources for additional funding and voluntary local support.

5.2.3. Community School Discourse: The Main Arguments

Local policy for community schools, as presented by the policy-making section of the Regional Educational Authority, was expressed in terms of a number of formal arguments concerning social, educational and economic issues. This discourse on community schooling reflects the underlying pedagogic values of the dominant 'schooling' ideology.

Community schools were regarded as offering a more efficient and effective form of education through the expansion and integration of

local educational and cultural (recreational, sporting, social) resources and facilities provided and managed within a single multi-purpose centre. It was argued that the social and economic values of existing educational resources are maximised by an 'open door' policy to the whole community and extended hours of opening.

24LG:"The formal schooling is there for children and serious education...and informal interest education is there for anyone else that wants it. But the whole thing is opened up to groups and individuals who just want to use it either as a place for a cuppa tea, a swim or a group gathering to discuss politics, religion, State affairs, community affairs."

The economic argument for community schools was advocated strongly during the early period of political campaigning in Lothian Region. For example, Foulkes often stated that "the economic argument is blindingly obvious" (TES, 24 Nov.1978) and would go on to compare the length of time that a school is conventionally open with that of a community school.

Although the claim of 'community control' appeared in the Working Party's report (Nov.1978), there was little evidence to suggest that professional control over decision-making and resources in the community schools had been, or would be, changed significantly. Community control was envisaged in Taylorian terms as the extension of the School Council's executive responsibilities (finance, school policy, curriculum) to participation by 'community' representatives. After an initial optimistic idealism (e.g. Cairns,1978), a recognition of the domination and continued control of the professional representatives, especially the Principal, over the lay members of the School Council was expressed widely:

24LG:"I'm a bit disappointed - very disappointed - in many ways. I think it's a pleasant forum, one which has accepted responsibility in

terms of pricing the place, a discipline policy for the place. All that's been generated by Ralph Wilson (Principal). Ralph generates them, puts them onto paper, puts it to the Council, and the discussion - apart from one or two highlights - has just not been! They just nod their heads!...The level of controversy, dissent and discussion - there's just no level of that!"

21LG: "To an extent Ralph began not quite to dominate it, but he began to play a central figure. Whether the group (a local Working Group on WHEC) should have continued independently or had set piece meetings on issues with the school, I don't know."

The power of the Principal in controlling the development of each community school was widely acknowledged by respondents. Any reforms in the control of Lothian Region's community schools can be seen only as a re-distribution of power within the professional education community. More power and resources have been delegated to, and concentrated in, the local-based education centre where, under a unitary system of management, one person bears responsibility for the community complex and the education of the whole local population. The complexities of managing a large multi-purpose institution were also seen as factors acting against any 'real' participation by local people.

So, rather than representing a move towards the decentralisation of educational resources and control, Lothian Region's community school policy has effectively implemented a more centralised system of community education, not only through the centralisation of local resources within a single institution under the control of professional groups, but also through the retention of operational responsibility by those in the statutory school sector and the politico-economic interests of its traditional 'schooling' ideology. Community control and involvement in this new form of educational provision are thus purely idealist elements of the community school

policy.

Another argument put forward was that the community school would adopt a 'proactive' development role in relation to the local community through improving, or 'plugging the gaps', in local social provision:

25LG:"If education has got a responsive role, it also has a proactive role. If the school has the capacity to meet the wider needs of the community in addition to it's statutory functions for children, inevitably...it will begin to be more outward-looking and more conscious of a need to assess the requirements of the community and seek in it's policies to determine how it might resolve them."

It was claimed that the increased range of educational and cultural opportunities available in a community school would provide a central focus for the development of a consensus 'community of interests' through the growth of local social networks and relationships:

27LG:"You create from a community spirit point of view community action, community activity, new kinds of contacts, of networks that help in other ways."

25LG:(A community school is)"...a vehicle to establish this network of inter-related groups which together might form a community because the inter-relationships gradually weld them in some form together because of the common memberships, and so on."

This sense of collective identity stimulated by the community school would eventually develop to the extent that school children would believe, in the words of one local politician, that "this is their way of life; this is their main Centre"(28LG).In this way, community schools were acclaimed as helping to combat social problems, such as truancy (Foulkes, Education Guardian, April 1978).Their role as 'agents of social change' was paralleled with 'becoming involved with sort of social services work' (23LG). Their community development role was also interpreted as the collective educational experience of

tackling local problems and issues, having a community-oriented or 'socially relevant' curriculum and community service projects in the school. This consensus-participation approach to community development in the context of schooling can be seen to express a concern by dominant professional groups to maintain control through conserving the traditional functions of adjustment and socialisation, but through the new strategy of wider 'community' participation in educational and recreational activities. This new form of leisure-style educational provision was regarded as more attractive to local adults who would normally never venture inside a school. By some undefined notion of activity 'osmosis', it was argued that local people would try out the recreational and sporting activities provided within a community school, and eventually join in the educational programme and school classes, so that:

27LG: "The proper use of a community school will be to be able to educate the whole person."

It was also claimed that community schools 'would lead to an enrichment of school life', not only through the enhanced provision of facilities and resources available to the school, but also through the presence of other adults besides school staff in a community school (Working Party Report, May 1979:21). This was also seen to have beneficial educational 'spin-off' effects for the local community:

24LG: "...we are urging the physical presence of adults within the building during the school day and joining in classes with youngsters or organising groups by themselves and getting the resources of the school teachers, facilities and so on."

The experience of learning in mixed age classes was seen as having reciprocal benefits for adults and school children. If adults and

children embark together on a joint educational enterprise, it would serve to awaken the interest of the adults in children's schooling:

23LG: "I think a main reason why this particular type of school is attractive to the Education Committee is because... the local people (are) now becoming much more involved in the education process, not only for themselves but its a beneficial process for youngsters, particularly if the local people can be involved in the curriculum. I don't think many of the community schools have developed that particular facet yet - but certainly the opportunity is there."

As suggested in Chapter 6, the research study of WHEC found little evidence to suggest that local parents had become more positively oriented towards their children's schooling or school-based activities since the introduction of a more open form of school in the area.

Another argument put forward for the community school was that the experience of this more humane and mixed form of education is likely to effect a long-term attitudinal change to education and learning in pupils, and secondarily ,in adults:

27LG: "By changing the nature of the school, the public's attitude towards the school ... children's attitudes towards learning changes. Y'know, when they see their grandmother sitting down or their uncle sitting down keen to learn Italian 'cos they're going to Italy, or y'know, keen to learn physics 'cos they want to improve their education to get a job. They suddenly realise themselves that this isn't just a thing they're forced to do, that it's actually something that people desire and has an intrinsic value in itself. So it can help kids attitude to education."

As later evidence makes clear, the provision of a community school in Wester Hailes has not totally dispelled local people's negative and disillusioned attitudes to education and schooling.

These social, educational and economic arguments were those proposed by the local politicians and the higher management officials

interviewed. It is argued that for this section of the local group of educationalists, the community school represents a new 'packaging' for the local secondary school and, as such, furthers the aims and objectives of the dominant ideology of schooling. School interests remained central to the policy-makers' arguments for its 'radical' educational policy and the reforms recommended are seen to enhance the efficiency of schooling. Evidence suggested that factors such as falling school rolls and negative attitudes (resistance) to education and schooling by pupils and adults in working class areas provided the main motives behind Lothian Region's community school policy. Thus, the politico-professional education community is seeking to improve the demand for, and efficiency of, present local-based educational provision, particularly in working class areas, through changing the outward public image of schools (e.g., re-naming them Community High Schools or Education Centres), but leaving the fundamental principles of schooling unchallenged:

27LG:"You change the concept of the school away from a concept of a rigidly controlled institution which is available for children from the ages of 5 to 14, from 9 to 5, 5 days a week, 30 weeks a year...to a place, a centre where the whole community goes for education...It's core role is still the statutory education of children of statutory school age at the appropriate time. That's the core of the whole element."

No evidence was found to suggest that the question was being asked: Education for what? Rather, it was stressed that it was not the intention of the Education Committee to allow the all-round development of individual/community potential to jeopardize the pursuit of traditional academic standards in the community schools. Thus, their 'success' was monitored and assessed primarily in terms of academic achievement and examination results. In this respect, WHEC

and the Lasswade High School Centre were considered to have 'proved themselves', i.e., were performing satisfactorily as traditional secondary schools.

5.3. WESTER HAILES EDUCATION CENTRE (WHEC)

This section of Chapter 5 examines the early development of WHEC's aims, ethos and organisation as a community school and the perceptions and attitudes of WHEC as a workplace/school held by staff and students during the first 18 months of its operation. It illustrates the extent to which WHEC is an educational experiment grounded in the needs and interests of professional educators concerned with educational and schooling reforms, and how this motive has acted against the creation of an adequate framework for effective community involvement in this early period of WHEC's history.

5.3.1. WHEC As A Community School.

It was argued in the previous section (5.2.) that, owing to WHEC's 'technocratic' origins and the size and complexity of the capital-intensive plant (see Table 5.1.) , it is not regarded as a community school in the same way as those community education projects which have arisen from initiatives within the local community, such as the Strone and Maukinhill Informal Education Project described by McConnell in 'The People's Classroom'(1979). WHEC was described in the Principal's Report as a 'progressive experimental educational institution contributing much to the whole of Scottish education as

well as to its local community' (1980: 8).

As a widely publicised and prestigious educational experiment, WHEC became a focus for professional speculation and interest from its early days of planning, construction and operation as a community school. In this capacity, it has attracted a great deal of attention from educationalists in Scotland and abroad and has contributed to the professional training of teachers and community educators through providing training placements, speakers and tours to visitors. WHEC's innovative Special Guidance Unit, for example, has attracted the interest of professionals working in the field of Intermediate Treatment in Scotland and other schools have set up similar units modelled on it. WHEC's contribution to the local community has been largely through the range of educational and recreational facilities and opportunities it offers and as a boost to the community's self-image.

The focus of public attention on the WHEC experiment was seen as a major drawback in the daily school life of pupils and teachers. For example, the tendency by local people and the press to pick up and distort rumours about the new community school was perceived as a restriction and a danger for WHEC's reputation and future prospects by one of the WHEC pupils:

101RA: " It's such a big hit in the newspapers innit? I mean, this place, it's a hassle, sometimes it's really bad cos if you take like doing a play or something, and someone says 'can I bring an air rifle?', and he (teacher) says 'Oh no, that's impossible' cos it would take one person to go to the newspapers and say, 'Mr Henderson has got in a few machine guns in the Drama Theatre!'. I mean, that's sorta where it is. It's really bad... We ain't outrageous. I don't know whether it would be shut down... something would happen."

The experimental and innovative nature of WHEC provided the background

to the careful selection of a team of approximately 100 teaching staff, chosen on the basis of their capacity for hard work and their enthusiasm and commitment to community education's ideal of 'openness' and change. In a taut and expectant atmosphere of a new and 'radical' educational policy, it was not surprising that these professionals acquired a strong influence in the early stages of WHEC's development. Before the Centre opened, the Principal devised a management structure for WHEC in consultation with a local Working Group (Cairns, 1978). He produced a set of Policy Papers in which the framework for the community school's aims, management and curriculum was outlined. These documents provided the basis for discussion with the newly formed Planning Committee, the main policy-making body in WHEC, in the 3 months before WHEC opened during which time the departments were organised, equipped and timetabled.

A further example of the way in which the professional staff established a dominant role in the Centre's mode of operation in this early developmental stage relates to the realignment of teacher-pupil relationships and the formulation of a discipline system. The Principal of WHEC is widely regarded amongst the staff as the chief exponent and practitioner of the reform of teacher-pupil relationships towards a less authoritarian, more democratic basis:

17S: "He told the kids quite categorically that you are people and we'll treat you like people, and you treat us like people."

This policy was implemented within WHEC, without prior consultation with local people, the majority of whom were known to be opposed to a relaxation of disciplinary control by teachers in the secondary school. It has been argued that there is a need for professional staff

to instigate immediate innovations and changes in the structure and organisation of schooling as a necessary initial catalyst in the process of educational reform, and to create gradually new structures for community involvement (Nisbet et al, 1980). Whatever the rationale, problems inevitably arose as the policies and practices associated with the new educational ideology and form of provision were implemented within a context where the dominant ideology and established form of schooling prevailed.

For the most part, difficulties of adjustment stemmed from the immediacy of innovations introduced in WHEC, such as informal teacher-pupil relationships, no corporal punishment, no uniforms, adult presence in the Centre and its openness to the public generally. Other problems arose from the 'delay' in the re-orientation of attitudes from traditional concepts of education and schools and in the management of the community school.

In addition to these technical problems and ideological oppositions, WHEC was faced with the impossible task of fulfilling the differing and diverse expectations built up among the groups constituting its educational environment. For example:

- i) The local Wester Hailes community expected that WHEC would not only become its own modern secondary school, ensuring a 'good education' for its school-age population, but also serve the whole area as a recreational facility and increase the range of leisure opportunities for local people.
- ii) The professional staff in WHEC committed themselves to the task of implementing a wide range of innovations, geared to the broad

ideological aims of community education. Yet, it was equally likely that differing strategic interpretations would arise within this large and diverse group of professionals.

- iii) The Regional Education Authority also expressed its high expectations of WHEC in terms of the social, educational and economic benefits that were claimed to stem from the community schooling experiments. It focused on WHEC in particular as a model for the future development of new forms of educational provision in the Region.

For those expecting an early realisation of their ideals, there was disillusionment and bitterness in the perception of unfulfilled expectations. The practical limitations on these expectations of educational change through the WHEC experiment were stressed by a local government respondent in terms of resources and education's role in society:

25LG: "I think that our expectations of the school, indeed of education generally, may be far greater than can be realised. We have to recognise that the building and its staff have limitations and it can't do everything for society in that one place... The desire of the educationalists to take a very wide view of education... has to be tempered with what is practical and perhaps narrowed down to doing a particular job well."

In the initial period of its operation, this awareness of the limitations in achieving all these expectations led WHEC to concentrate its energies on the statutory schooling element of educational provision - a focus which provided an embryonic basis for intra-professional concern and conflict. The full, and later overcrowded, secondary school dominated the resources and accommodation in WHEC to the extent that many professionals felt that the community programme would be jeopardised. This local government respondent

remarked upon this 'school takeover' of resources in WHEC:

24LG: "Definitely take it over just about. Soak up all the resources and exhaust all the people who'll be working in cramped conditions. The social provisions of the building... They won't be able to cope. Then, there's the risk that - it's not a risk, it 's a real thing - folk'll say children come first, and therefore y'cannae come in here till we've got the kids organised. I suspect that through the day, the adult opportunities might well go backwards."

On the part of the local community, they were also involved in all the tensions of the educational experiment, either implicitly or explicitly. Not only were they, as pupils and parents, participating in the move towards open education, but they were also, ostensibly at least, the prime target 'consumers' of the educational and recreational services offered by WHEC. In the first eighteen months of operation, tensions between school and community were most evident in the expectations of pupils and parents of WHEC as a traditional secondary school, for example, with regard to discipline and control, and the attainment of academic standards and examination passes.

In the event, WHEC's early concentration on internal and management issues undermined early attempts to involve the community fully in its programme by deflecting staff energies away from work in, and with, the Wester Hailes community. Delays in creating an adequate framework for community involvement at an early stage in its development were attributed to the failure to appoint a Head of Community Affairs in the first year of operation and the lengthy time spent by the Community Education team in negotiating and establishing relationships with local-based agencies and groups. Indeed, WHEC was faced with the difficult and ill-defined task of being expected to make a vital contribution to the quality of life in Wester Hailes, a view expressed by the community representatives of WHEC's initial Management

Committee, by the local Working Party on community schools and by the community newspaper, the Sentinel. Yet, this was a community that had been in residence for over ten years and had not developed clear channels of communication characteristic of a well-established community into which WHEC could connect. Nor was it in the early stages of development where WHEC could adopt an initiating role in the community development process. When the Head of Community Affairs was appointed in August 1979, a consensus-participation approach to community education was continued, and the community development work and objectives became more dynamic. Specific projects in WHEC's community education programme included:

- i) A job review of school-based Community Education workers and their relationship with the local-based Community Education Service.
- ii) The expansion of 'The Key' youth club as an informal meeting place for WHEC pupils. Its community educational role is focused on group sessions that are held each evening to promote better understanding and communication between people and on the development of self-help in the management, planning and running of the youth club.
- iii) The setting up of Rock Workshop and community band using the resources of WHEC's Music Department.
- iv) The development of informal Learning Exchange Groups (L.E.G.s) based in the local area.

With the exception of the L.E.G. project, WHEC's community education programme has tended to concentrate on activities that are Centre-based, formal, group and youth work oriented. Although this reflects

the local need for recreational provision for the large numbers of young people in Wester Hailes , it also helped to reinforce WHEC's local image as a 'school' and recreational facility for youth and, therefore, relatively unconcerned with the needs of local adults.

The ethos of WHEC as a community school, guided by the ideology of community education, is founded on a belief in 'openness' and the creation of a 'caring' environment in schools. To this end, the Centre's aims express the values of expansion, integration, flexibility, autonomy, collective responsibility and participation in education. These principles have been developed in a number of ways:

1. A Caring Environment

The setting up of a comprehensive Guidance system is intended to create a 'caring environment' in which the individual needs of all full-time students are considered. In the long term, it aims to promote educational values within the wider community of Wester Hailes. The Guidance Leader aims to develop a friendly relationship based on 'trust' with each pupil within his/her own Guidance Group and to develop close links with the pupils' parents to encourage their greater involvement. WHEC also has a Special Guidance Team, comprising four members of staff, for about thirty pupils, whose disruptive behaviour would normally have led to their expulsion from school. This caring approach is an attempt to re-integrate them within the school and in the outside world, rather than to exclude them.

2. Openness

Expansion and openness are principles shown in WHEC's strong emphasis on open public use of its resources and facilities. Daytime classes

and evening courses are open to participation by all ages, yet , in practice, the day classes are dominated by school children whose attendance is compulsory, while the evening sessions attract mostly adults. At certain times, the school and other local organisations (e.g., primary schools, hospitals) are given priority over general public use. As a consequence of this open door policy, its provision of specialist sports facilities and equipment and its wider recreational catchment, the use of the Centre by individuals and groups living outside the Wester Hailes locality acts against the local image of WHEC as a 'community' facility.

3. Integration

The integration and coordination of education, leisure and community dimensions within WHEC are developed through its management and decision-making structures which operate on two inter-related levels:

- a) A hierarchically ordered structure of line management which delineates the responsibilities and accountability of its staff. This is headed by the 8 member Executive Team, the Centre's key policy-making body, comprising the Principal and his Deputy and the Heads of the School, Community, Recreation and Administration sectors of the complex.
- b) A committee-based consultative structure which deals with all aspects of WHEC's programme and membership and which is open to wider community representation. The Centre Council is the key element here and acts as the school-community link in policy-making. There is a 50% professional representation on the Centre Council and, as noted earlier in section 5.2.3., power and control tends to remain in the hands of the professional members, owing to the acquiescence of lay members to their recommendations and decisions.

4. Flexibility

Flexibility in the organisation of education in WHEC has been assisted through the introduction of the 'Alternative Contract' whereby the teaching staff are compensated financially for taking on a flexible shift system of working. This procedure allows greater continuity between the daytime and evening education programmes. The organisation of the 'education day' into four daytime and one evening sessions of self-contained course units also allows flexibility in attendance, so that school pupils can use the evening sessions as back-up or extra tuition. The daytime programme may be changed or suspended to allow, for example, students to focus on one particular project over a week. To a certain extent, WHEC's educational programme comprises a broad-based curriculum and cuts across the traditional subject divisions, the course units being designed by an inter-disciplinary team, e.g., 'Music and Science', 'Living in Families', 'Photography and Filming'. The development of non-SCE examination courses through the introduction of CSE and WHEC certificate courses and the expansion of the education programme to include a wider range of activities (both within the Centre and in the outside community) indicate the move by WHEC to develop a more non-academic or 'social' education. All these educational innovations are directed primarily at the reform of schooling and relate only secondarily to a concern for the educational needs of the local adult community.

5.3.2. WHEC As A Workplace

The following two sections in this Chapter examine the perceptions of the WHEC experiment from the viewpoint of its staff and pupils in order to analyse in more detail the expectations and lived experience of the community school as a workplace/school by these key participants.

The findings in section 5.3.2. concerning the WHEC professionals experiences, ideas and aspirations of the community school are similar to Hargreaves' analysis of the New Romantics (1974), a body of contemporary educational reformers (e.g., Rogers, 1969; Kohl, 1970; Postman and Weingartner, 1973; Holt, 1973) who have focused on micro-level criticisms of schooling. The coincidence of the main themes and underlying assumptions of these two groups is worth noting briefly to provide a context for the educational aims of the WHEC professionals: Both groups challenge the established methods and forms of schooling, teaching and teacher-pupil relationships. They stress instead the importance of the motivation to learn, voluntarism and individualism and the related values of 'freedom', 'autonomy' and 'choice' for the student; learning as a 'dialogue' between teacher and student; the benefits of 'change', learning to learn and the skill of critical thinking; and the redefinition of teacher-pupil relationships to ones based on 'trust', informality and openness.

The reputation and status of WHEC as an experiment in progressive schooling within the education profession in the Lothian Region and Scotland was a strong determinant of the ideological orientation of WHEC's professional staff. As Table 5.3. shows, nine of the eleven

staff interviewed included in their reasons for applying for a job at WHEC the desire to work in WHEC/a community school because of the innovative educational reforms embodied in the project's aims and ideology. Four of these were also motivated by the opportunity to advance their careers, such as the chance to set up a new department, the opportunity for promotion, better pay, equipment and facilities. The three non-professional staff (skilled and unskilled manual workers) all mentioned 'convenience' reasons in applying for employment at WHEC, for example local residence, transference from the previous local secondary school, previous experience in the job.

TABLE 5.3.: WHEC STAFF EMPLOYMENT FACTORS AND ASSESSMENT OF WHEC AS A WORKPLACE						
<u>Comparisons With Previous Job</u>						
	<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>			
	<u>Env't</u>	<u>Rel'ps</u>	<u>Sch'ing</u>	<u>Env't</u>	<u>Sch'ing</u>	<u>Total</u>
Nos (%) of respondents						
<u>A. Previous Job</u>						
Promoted	7(64)	5(56)	3(50)	6(100)	2(50)	7(64)
Community School	4(36)	4(44)	3(50)	2(33)	2(50)	4(36)
First Job	3(27)	3(33)	2(33)	1(17)	2(50)	3(27)
Same	2(18)	2(22)	2(33)	-	-	2(18)
Forresters School	2(18)	2(22)	1(17)	1(17)	-	2(18)
<u>B. Motivation Factors</u>						
WHEC/Community School	9(82)	8(89)	1(17)	5(83)	4(100)	9(82)
Career	4(36)	2(22)	6(100)	4(66)	1(25)	4(36)
Convenience	4(36)	4(44)	3(50)	-	2(50)	4(36)
<u>C. Length of WHEC Employment</u>						
Since opening	5(45)	5(56)	3(50)	1(17)	2(50)	5(45)
Before opening	6(54)	4(44)	3(50)	5(83)	2(50)	6(54)
Total	11(100)	9(82)	6(54)	6(54)	4(36)	11

The strong element of 'progressive' educational beliefs amongst the sample of professional WHEC staff respondents was found to be closely related to their perception of WHEC as a workplace.

The staff's perceptions of WHEC as a workplace showed that the following features were assessed as the most significant:

- i) The nature of the working environment;
- ii) the changing nature of inter-personal relationships; and
- iii) schooling reforms.

i) Environment

There was full agreement among all staff respondents concerning their preference for WHEC's working environment compared to their previous workplace, regardless of their earlier job, their motives for changing jobs or their training or occupational status at WHEC. For a number of the professional staff interviewed, WHEC's general openness and contact with the public provided a favourable point of contrast with their previous working environment (e.g., primary school, other community school, sports centre) where access was restricted to specific age or interest groups in the community.

For the most part, the positive aspects of WHEC's working environment related to its experimental status. This gratified the professionals' desire for challenge, freedom and flexibility in their work, thus, enabling them to put into practise their beliefs in educational innovation, development and change in schooling:

15S: "Coming into a community school, we were able to say, 'wait a minute, why do we do that? Why don't we do it this way? and start to change. Nothing was left unquestioned, and I found there was real opportunity, coming in with all sorts of management thoughts... And the rest of the (Executive) Team were fairly responsive 'cos they too saw that we didn't have to do things the way they always had been done in schools".

13S: "I don't have any Head of Department telling me what to do all the time. I can come in here and teach English and teach really anything I want. I can design my own courses for the kids that I have. I can work in an ordinary class situation and I can have group work here... You've got a lot more freedom to bring up subjects yourself and that's very important... with adults in the class as well."

The greater opportunity in WHEC to question, challenge and change the traditional methods and organisation of school education was seen to contribute to a critical process of educational development to a much greater extent than is possible in other educational institutions:

20S: "... the amount of development that goes on at the level of educational philosophy, at the level of questioning our aims, at the level of actually doing something about it, coming to decisions openly about the way that we teach, about preparing materials that we teach, is enormously higher than traditional schools. In the past 18 months, there has been more development work than I would have experienced in ten years in the traditional schools in Scotland."

For the non-professional staff also, the greater degree of freedom or self-determination at work was seen to be conducive to increased efficiency:

11LRS: "I used to work in Ladbroke's as a cashier and the discipline was, y'know, they were on top of you all the time. But I like here, I really do... I think you do your job better because if there's somebody standing over you, you're all flustered... Nobody bothers you here, y'know."

The combination of these aspects of WHEC's working environment (the greater freedom, opportunity for innovations and increased openness to, and contact with, the public) contributed to the perception of greater job satisfaction and a sense of purpose amongst WHEC's professional staff:

15S: "I prefer working here because I think it's more meaningful and I think this has got to work... to make education more meaningful."

Referring to non-teaching recreation staff, he continued:

"They are contributing not only in the day to day tasks of running a Centre, or whatever, but their getting involved and they're helping out with groups of kids who are a section of the community."

In contrast to the unanimous agreement among WHEC staff respondents concerning the positive aspects of WHEC's working environment, as shown in Table 5.3., negative responses were low at 54%. Criticisms mainly related to two issues, stress and the over-rapid introduction of innovations.

The increased workload, commitment and responsibility to their work for the professional staff as pioneers and arbiters of the community schooling experiment in Lothian Region was found to increase the levels of stress amongst the staff. The obsession with work was seen as a pernicious consequence of the challenge and excitement of working at WHEC. For example, two WHEC professionals (teacher and community worker) spoke of the constant demands of their work:

17S : "In most other schools, teachers think that their free periods and lunchtimes are absolutely sacrosanct, and they go and sit in their staff room with their feet up... Here, everybody stays in their staff base and chats to the people in their own Department. We talk about work all the time, y'know, it's a never-ending process."

14S: "It varies in stress here, but I've constantly got to keep saying 'what should I be doing?' and 'how best can I do this?' which makes it quite a lot more demanding."

The Principal suggested that the high level of stress amongst his professional staff was shown in terms of higher rates of drinking, smoking and marital breakdown among them.

Management problems in the operation of WHEC as a community school had arisen as a result of the rapid introduction of innovations. For example, the control of the public inside the building and the organisation of a shift system for janitors to enable the Centre to open in the evenings were found to raise management difficulties in this period of WHEC'S history.

It was not surprising, therefore, that cross-tabulations of coded data from the interviews revealed that those WHEC staff respondents who experienced these negative aspects of working in the new community school environment tended to be those with greatest professional and managerial responsibilities. This is shown in Table 5.3. in terms of those 'promoted' (Table A) and those motivated by 'career' advancement (Table B) in their uptake of work at WHEC (e.g., Principal Teachers) and those members of the Planning Committee interviewed who had joined the staff before the Centre opened (Table C).

ii) Relationships

The perceptions of WHEC as a workplace by staff respondents were strongly influenced by the more open, informal and cooperative interpersonal relationships, both among staff and between teachers and pupils. As Table 5.3. shows, 82% of staff respondents included this feature as a positive aspect of their experience of working at WHEC compared to their previous workplace and none was critical of working relationships at the Centre. The ability to select professional staff to form an active and committed 'team' reflects the unique position of WHEC as one of Lothian Region's first community schools . The 'esprit

de corps' and cooperation generated among staff was regarded by teachers as an important feature of WHEC as a workplace:

16S: "We've got a group of people who came here, most of them because they wanted to come here. In other words, they weren't just going in because that was the next job along the line. And partly the way the staff were chosen.. to fit... whereas normally you appoint the best of the ones that are around, so you're never in a position to appoint three as a (Departmental) team, whereas here that did happen... There's a much stronger camaraderie if you like, a stronger sort of team thing about it. There's more cooperation than I've experienced elsewhere."

18S: "I was astonished at the way people at WHEC wanted to help and cooperate... on a day to day basis one can always ask for help from other Departments... Before, it was very cliquy among different Departments."

Their perceptions of improved teacher-pupil relationships reflect the early decision by the Principal and his professional team to reform the traditional formal style of authority-based school relationships and to adopt a more informal, humanistic and democratic approach within the Centre , emphasising the 'open' principle of 'inclusion' rather than exclusion. The Principal himself explained WHEC's more informal and friendly approach to establishing teacher-pupil, school-community relationships as not only a compensatory measure in relation to the history of oppression in a working class community, but also a means of creating a more pleasant working atmosphere for the staff:

20S: "I think the relationships are again different. It's less authoritarian because we decided that it should be less authoritarian because of the nature of our community which we felt had suffered from the bottom end of a huge authoritarian social structure. Now that on the whole isn't a bad thing. Again, it makes the place more pleasant to work in."

This view was confirmed by other teaching staff who regarded the more open and friendly relationships with pupils as a more pleasant and effective form of education by alleviating the 'barriers' between

teachers and pupils characteristic of traditional schooling, so that pupils are more receptive to learning:

17S: "In other schools, if you (pupils) saw a teacher walking along the corridor, you either went the other way or turned your head away so that the teacher wouldn't notice your existence. Whereas here, kids say 'Hi', 'Hello Miss' or 'Hello Sandra' all the time, and not even just the kids you think of as being creepy kids, the ones that play up to the teachers do it - all of them do it."

13S: "The main difference here is the informality I can have with the students here. I can have a much more natural relationships. I can break down barriers between me and the students which I couldn't do in a traditional school because it's the system itself that creates those barriers... If I was in a school that used corporal punishment as a deterrent, I would be forced by the system to use it, because the children would expect me to use it, and it would be very, very difficult to teach... Here you're left as an individual really, to create the relationships you want."

This statement indicates how teachers in traditional schools feel compelled to adopt the conventional educational approach to discipline and relationships. Although WHEC has developed the basis of a 'new' form of schooling founded on the ideology of community education, nevertheless it was apparent that its staff and students were equally obliged to conform to this new code of practice. In this respect, conflict was not readily apparent within the sample of professional staff interviewed in this study, amongst whom there is a high level of ideological 'sympathy' with WHEC's ethos, aims and organisation. However, there was evidence to suggest some incipient intra-professional conflict between a minority of staff members who persisted with traditional authoritarian 'teacher' attitudes to teacher-pupil relationships and the predominantly 'progressive' stance of most WHEC teachers:

18S: "There are some people here who've fallen into the trap of being a 'teacher' and have to keep face and won't admit they're wrong, and are still shouting at kids, 'You won't dare do that!' which is

pointless and futile. It's O.K. to scream at kids as long as you can admit you're wrong. It's not a war like some people seem to think."

It is suggested that a greater degree of such intra-professional conflict may be detected in community schools with a less ideologically homogeneous team of professional staff (a unique feature of WHEC) and in a study that included a broader sample of staff. However, in this study there is little evidence of intra-professional conflict within the sample of professional staff working in the community school.

Disagreement with the informal non-authoritarian approach to teacher-pupil relationships and discipline in WHEC was more apparent among the local non-professional staff interviewed. The pressure to accept and conform to the prevailing approach of WHEC's professional 'leadership' was expressed by this respondent:

12IRS: "I dinnae feel there's any respect for the teachers... If that's how they want the place to handle, we just have to let it run that way. There's nae point in us trying to be strict disciplinarians... We just have to take our leadership from within, y'see. If that's the way it's done throughout the school, it's no use when we see 'em now and again, the kids, to say, 'You! March in twos down the corridors!' and things like that. You just have to... it's the easiest way out... you just have to go along with 'em."

Like the pupil respondents (see Section 5.3.3.), other members of the non-professional staff gradually adapted to and preferred the new approach to relationships within a school setting, having initially been against it:

11IRS: "Of course everybody calls everybody else by their Christian names and that. Y'know, at first I thought... Oh God! Y'know, but you get used to it, you really do, and I like it, I really think it's great, y'know."

This pattern of opposition and adaptation to WHEC's informal approach to teacher-pupil relationships and discipline among the local non-professional staff respondents is illustrated again in relation to the local community's attitudes to education and schooling discussed in Chapter 6.

iii) Schooling

In comparison to the emphasis given by WHEC staff to its working environment and relationships, the schooling elements were of relatively low significance. As shown in Table 5.3., only 54% of staff respondents considered that schooling reforms contributed to a positive experience of WHEC as a workplace. This finding corresponds with the low level of significance (36%) attributed to reforms in schooling by WHEC staff in relation to their perceptions of the important features of a community school (Table 5.4.) and contrasts strongly with the local government policy-makers views of a community school discussed earlier in section 5.2.

In addition to a general appreciation of WHEC's new facilities, resources and equipment by both teaching and non-teaching staff, the schooling reforms that were seen to enhance the teaching experience at WHEC were specified as the re-structuring of the school day into 'sessions' rather than 40 minute periods, adult participation in classes and a more individualised resource-based approach to teaching. For example, one teacher who had six women in his O'Grade English class regarded their presence as a useful educational resource that benefitted the school pupils by providing a 'mature insight' into

problems discussed. Another teacher found the more relaxed and informal atmosphere of WHEC classes , where students were encouraged to speak out, question and be critical whatever is said, preferable to the situation where pupils 'sit in a classroom in total silence'.

<u>TABLE 5.4.: WHEC STAFF'S JOB MOTIVATION AND ATTITUDES TO SCHOOLING</u>				
<u>Job Motivation Factors</u>				
	WHEC/ Community School	Career	Convenience	Total
Nos (%) of respondents				
<u>A. Purposes of Schooling:</u>				
Individual				
Development	8(89)	4(100)	3(75)	10(91)
Non-working life	9(100)	3(75)	3(75)	9(82)
Academic/Employment	6(67)	3(75)	4(100)	8(73)
Domestic Skills	3(33)	1(25)	2(50)	3(27)
<u>B. Features of a Community School:</u>				
Relationships	7(78)	4(100)	3(75)	9(82)
Environment	8(78)	3(75)	4(100)	9(82)
Innovations	5(56)	2(50)	1(25)	5(45)
Schooling	4(44)	2(50)	-	4(36)
Total	9(82)	4(36)	4(36)	11

Of the 36% staff respondents who were critical of 'schooling' elements of WHEC, these negative points were focused on the constraints imposed by the established system of school education, especially the examination system, on the extent to which the introduction of educational reforms were possible in the WHEC experiment. Frustration was expressed by the professional staff interviewed at the realisation

of their powerlessness to effect wider changes in the schooling system. Recognition of such constraints on the community school experiment brought the perception of WHEC as an 'ordinary school' in many respects:

20S: "I would say that when we're teaching the more able proportion of children to pass O'Grades and Highers and when we're trying to get through CSEs, what goes on in the classroom is not very different from what goes on in an ordinary school... by the nature of these exams. We try to temper it in various ways and not let it dominate everything that happens like the Scottish traditional school."

The statutory requirements of schooling were also seen to have harmful consequences on the operation of the community education programme in WHEC, as in other community-oriented secondary schools, such as the allocation of the less academic pupils to work experience and community service projects. However, this community worker was optimistic that this situation was a temporary problem:

14S: "Although, I mean, from the top that seemed not to be the best way to do it, but that's the way it's happening at the moment... For simplicity's sake... it's been easiest to do it (that way)... whereas I know there's people in charge who don't think that's the right way and it's a matter of time before it's going to be change and everybody will be happy to do community service and so on."

The firm commitment to, and belief in, educational change and schooling reforms amongst WHEC's professional staff, (shown in Table 5.4. as 'WHEC/community school' and 'career' categories) marks a clear distinction between these professional staff from and those non-professional local staff who took up posts at WHEC for 'convenience' reasons. The latter group indicate a belief in the traditional academic/employment purposes of schooling and are less sympathetic to the educational innovations that accompany the community school experiment. On the other hand, WHEC's 'progressive' professional

staff, who expressed a commitment to the community school concept in their motives for working at WHEC, tended to stress the importance of the non-work aims of schooling. This can be seen as a confirmation of the school-community conflict hypothesised in Section 3.4. of this study.

As an overall summary, the WHEC staff's assessment of WHEC as a workplace was founded upon its experimental status, particularly for the core of 'progressive' professionals. Hence, the positive aspects of WHEC were related to the innovations and changes introduced by the professional milieu and were interpreted in terms of the benefits for the professional educator and the education process itself. The negative aspects of WHEC as a workplace were largely perceived as the residual elements of traditional schooling ideology and practices, and the effects of this on the school-based community education experiment, a point of incipient conflict between school and community.

5.3.3. WHEC As A School

Perceptions of WHEC as a school were examined from the viewpoint of the pupils through individual interviews and a group discussion held with three Fifth Year students (10LRA,10LRB,10LRC) who had been at WHEC for 18 months. Comparisons with their previous secondary school (Forresters) revealed an overall preference for WHEC on account of its 'freer' and more informal atmosphere and the friendlier relationships with teachers. The decision taken by the professional staff in 1978 to abolish corporal punishment was indicative of their experimentation

with a discipline system based on individual and collective responsibility, rather than on adult/teacher authority and control as a basis for teacher-pupil relationships. Responsibility for the behaviour, schoolwork, attendance and appearance of pupils is transferred to the individual pupil and the collectivity to which he/she belongs (e.g., family, peer group, Guidance group). However, past experiences of 'school', where there was a strict system of discipline, rules and regulations to control pupils' behaviour and where 'teachers' acted in the adult roles of authority and responsibility, caused a bewildered response from the pupil respondents. They questioned the efficacy of WHEC's informal approach in terms of pupil discipline and school work.

The most striking contrast for the pupils of WHEC as a school was the more informal and friendly relationships with teachers. WHEC teachers were seen as 'normal people', 'friends', people that 'you can talk to' without being frightened:

10LRA: "The teachers are much better than the ones at Forresters... I think the school's just changed them. I dinnae ken how, cos there's a few teachers here that were at Forresters, and there's a massive change in them. They used to be right hard, moody and that, and now, they're all, ken, bright and cheery and that. I've noticed that."

Q: "What about the teachers that haven't come from Forresters?"

10LRA: "Oh well, they're all right, ken. They act like normal people, no like teachers, ken..."

10LRC: "I think they're really friendly... I mean they're much more kinda - well, there's two of us in the café and our teacher came up and started talking to us, y'see. But in Forresters they would just sorta walk past you as if they didn't know you, y'see. I think they're really nice. And they make you feel welcome, and... want to come to school with being so nice and everything. But at Forresters they weren't like that, they just sortae put their nose up and walked past you. They were like a teacher whereas here they arenae, they're more like sortae friends."

10LRB: "They're much nicer than the ones at Forresters cos none of them uses the belt... It's much better having teachers that you can talk to as well, than when you're frightened to talk to a teacher cos you feel sortae y'dinnae want to approach them just in case they start shouting at you or something."

One effect of the more relaxed and friendly approach of the WHEC teachers was seen in the attitude of the pupils to learning and working in school. For example, two of the students preferred the style of teaching at WHEC:

10LRA: "...just because they go about it in a differnt way, ken, and that. They just explain to people like, completely normal, ken, but at Forresters they acted just like teachers, ken."

10LRB: "...when he's teaching you he doesnae make it boring or anything. He tries to explain it and things."

The only other positive comments made about the schoolwork at WHEC were expressed in terms of a greater interest in "what y'get taught" and the ability to choose from a wider range of courses in the Third and Fourth Year, rather than "take what you're given" as in Forresters School.

Contradictions were evident in the pupils' response to WHEC's informal ethos. While, on the one hand, all the pupil respondents condemned the formal system of rules and discipline at Forresters School as "just boring" and "having no sense to it", on the other hand, their main criticism of WHEC as a school related to the lack of a clearly identifiable body of authority to control the behaviour of pupils who 'took advantage' of the relative freedom given at WHEC:

10LRC: "I mean it's a much better school and I've nothing against it, or anything, I really like it. But I think they should be more stricter cos I think that's why a lot of it's getting wasted cos people are taking advantage of it. There's nobody bothered to say 'stop that' or 'stop this' sortae thing... The toilets for a start are

really mucky. There should be someone to stand around and make sure that no-one smokes and vandalises them and that. I mean tha janitors don't do all that much... There's no people to go about here to make sure you're at your classes and people sit instead in the café."

10LRB: "It's just that you get away with murder. I mean if you're trying to sit there and work and everyone's shouting in the class... just giving them cheek... At Forresters they were too strict, but here they're no strict enough."

The reaction of the pupils to the relaxation of traditional disciplinary sanctions ,the lack of punishment and overt authority by teachers tended to be one of: "If you know that you can get off with it, then that's what makes you do it more." With this attitude, one of the pupil respondents had spent much of her first year at WHEC 'skiving off' school, and was disconcerted by the teachers' reaction to her misconduct:

10LRB: "...and then when I came back and if I got caught they just wouldnae even bother! I mean, I'd spent ages in front of the telly and a boring night at home with your Mum and Dad, and you'd say that and they wouldnae care if you went and did that every day because I mean they don't care."

To a large extent the lack of discipline in WHEC school was seen as a weakness on the part of the teachers, an inability to perform effectively their roles as controllers and supervisors of the pupils' schoolwork and behaviour. While the relaxed and informal attitudes of WHEC teachers were seen, on the one hand, to make the experience of school and learning more enjoyable and interesting, on the other hand, the lack of compulsion to do schoolwork was seen as detrimental to their need to pass exams:

10LRC: "If they say to you 'have your homework in by tomorrow morning', like you get some people that dinnae bother and they don't do nothing about it. So if that happens to one person and you want a good time, you think 'Oh well, this is easy. He's just no bothered so I'm not going to do it.' But if you have a strict teacher, or if

they're pushing you to do it, by the time your O'Grades or exams are coming up, you wouldnae find it difficult. Whereas I think with me it's been difficult cos I havenae done all that much homework and they haven't been strict enough and everything."

This opposition between the WHEC professionals concern to introduce innovations in school education by making the learning experience more interesting, enjoyable and effective through a more 'humane' informal approach to teacher-pupil relationships, and the concern of parents and pupils to pass exams and get qualifications provides another example of the conflict between school and community.

Amongst the local parent, pupil and non-professional respondents, the subject of discipline and punishment in the WHEC school was a recurring criticism throughout the study. The traditional authority-based roles ascribed to teachers were not seen to be replaced by any other effective form of discipline. From the viewpoint of the pupil respondents, WHEC as a school needed a defined system of punishment and body of adult authority. Parental involvement in this task was suggested to be an effective back-up to WHEC's informal approach:

Q: "What sort of discipline would you have then in an ideal school?"

10LR: "A lot like here."

10LR: "Just sortae like this place but a wee bit harder."

10LR: "Because everybody spoils it, ken. Nothing really happens to 'em if they get caught like... If you get caught all they say is don't do it again, send you away, and as soon as their back's turned you do it again."

Q: "So what do you think the teachers should do?"

10LR: "Well, say if you get caught vandalising, I think they should tell you Mum and Dad about it, ken. If I go about smashing things up, I'd get killed for it."

It became increasingly evident that the perceptions and expectations of WHEC as a school amongst the local residents of Wester Hailes frequently contradicted their expectations of WHEC as a recreation facility for the local community. As Centre users, the majority of local respondents preferred the relaxed atmosphere and more open and friendly relationships between the staff, pupils and the local community. Yet, as parents and pupils, they were opposed to the adverse consequences of this informal or 'leisurely' approach on the pupils' schoolwork, behaviour and academic performance. For this reason, the majority of local residents expressed a preference for the two components of WHEC to be separate; they were opposed to the integration of a school and leisure centre within one multi-purpose complex.

5.4. THE WESTER HAILES COMMUNITY

By definition, a community school cannot be studied in isolation from the wider social and geographical environment of which it is a part. Thus, in this research, it is in relation to Wester Hailes Education Centre (WHEC) that the Wester Hailes residential area occupies a potentially important role, both as the local catchment of the community school and as the pool of target 'consumers' of WHEC's educational and recreational services. One of the key components of the study was an examination of the community environment of the Wester Hailes housing scheme as seen from the perspectives of all three groups in WHEC's educational environment, viz., the local authority, WHEC staff and local residents. The primary emphasis,

however, is placed on the latter's first-hand experience of life in Wester Hailes in recognition of their position as the ultimate arbiters of the success of the WHEC experiment in its wider role as a community resource and as an constituent element of community development activities in the area. Section 5.4., therefore, focuses on the perceptions, interpretations and attitudes of local residents to the community environment itself, to WHEC and to other community development activities based in the area.

5.4.1. Wester Hailes as a Residential Community

The analysis of the perceptions of local residents of the Wester Hailes housing scheme as a residential community was found to be broadly similar to Lockwood's typology of the 'privatised' worker's outlook (1982). In his classification of 'working class images of society', Lockwood identified this form of 'class consciousness' and work-community relationship as typical of people living in low-cost public housing where they live an isolated, home-centred existence, i.e., settings where the traditional tightly-knit, solidaristic community relations have been largely destroyed. His image of the 'privatised' worker 'is an ideological reflection of work attachments that are instrumental and of community relationships that are privatised' (1982:366). Despite the criticisms of Lockwood's crude categorisation of working class consciousness in contemporary capitalist society, his image of the privatised worker is valuable here in providing a more general context for the lived experience and perceptions of the residents in Wester Hailes of their community.

The Wester Hailes housing scheme has a largely negative public image locally, strongly perpetuated by the local media. There is a well-established belief amongst local residents in Wester Hailes that the District Council has pursued an undeclared policy of concentrating 'problem' families in the scheme, in particular single parent families. Its poor public image and reputation is reflected in the respondents' perceptions of the Wester Hailes community as a hostile environment populated by 'undesirables', 'problem' families, vandals and ruffians. This image appeared to have a strong influence on local attitudes to living in Wester Hailes and becoming involved in the life of the community. Thus, as Table 5.5. shows, Wester Hailes is regarded as an undesirable place to live by all the professionals interviewed, none of whom lived in the area, and by 50% of the local respondents.

TABLE 5.5.:RESPONDENT GROUP AND ATTITUDE TO LIVING IN WESTER HAILES				
<u>Attitude to Wester Hailes</u>	<u>Respondent Group</u>			Total
	Local Residents	WHEC staff	Local Government	
	Nos (%) of respondents			
Like it	7(50)	-	-	7(27)
Dislike it	7(50)	9(100)	3(100)	19(73)
Total	14(54)	9(35)	3(11)	26

The effect of the scheme's bad reputation on the local residents' perception of the Wester Hailes community is depicted by this local respondent:

21R: "We're far from the tops when it comes to putting people in the scheme. I mean folk have heard about Wester Hailes. It's got the reputation now and they don't put it down on their housing application. I mean this Block has definitely changed ... quite a bit since we moved. A lot. It's got dirtier and rowdier in the last seven years. I mean, I'm not worried if folk have a bath and stuff like that, but it's a sort of vicious, nastier, drunken marital fight type of thing. The scheme's changed, I don't like staying here on my own at night. I didn't like it to start with, but I like it even less now."

For those respondents living in the neighbouring Calders scheme, their attitudes to Wester Hailes were largely based on hearsay which again reflected its poor local reputation:

81R: "Oh, I've heard people say that some places are really very bad - vandalism and that. It's what they say anyway, but I haven't seen it. The only place I've seen is at the school (WHEC). When I first went along they had a beautiful bathing pool... but I noticed that an awful lot of lovely paving stones in the pool was all off. Whether it was vandalism or not, I couldn't say."

For two WHEC staff respondents who had once lived in the Wester Hailes scheme, Wester Hailes was described as a hostile and aggressive environment; fear had led themselves and others to retreat from involvement with neighbours and other people living there. The first teacher respondent referred to a family living on her stair:

17S: "They were disgusting, filthy, I mean sub-human is a bad word to use but three out of their seven children were at Special Schools, one had left school and the other three were on the verge of Special School. The father and mother were divorced but lived together. He... attempted to murder one of his kids one night. Unfortunately, I witnessed it which was a real nuisance, but I refused to go and testify about it because I couldn't be bothered really getting involved with these people."

13S: "It was a very, very hostile environment. Walking home from here (WHEC) after night classes was something quite terrifying. I don't know why, but I never felt particularly safe there. I was in a ground-floor flat as well... my car was shot at a few times... somebody banged on the door at one time..."

The perception of Wester Hailes by the WHEC professionals as a community with a negative local image and reputation and where community relationships are 'privatised' and characterised by fear and distrust was summed up by the community worker:

14S: "I think there's a lot of fear and distrust in the area. I think maybe Wester Hailes has got a bad image within the rest of Edinburgh, and because they're living here they think 'I shouldn't be living in Wester Hailes because I'm not that sort of person who lives in an area like Wester Hailes.... They don't trust that the other people that they don't know are like that too - they think they are the people who should be living in a place like Wester Hailes."

In the light of these perceptions of the Wester Hailes community, the difficult role of the WHEC professionals as 'mediators' who are attempting to establish a 'caring' environment in WHEC and relationships with local people based on 'trust' is illustrated in the contrast between the school's ideals of 'community' and the social reality of life in Wester Hailes. For example, in contrast with the professional community educators belief in the development of 'autonomy' and 'choice' in personal circumstances and opportunities, the Wester Hailes tenants expressed feelings of captivity and compulsion in being a resident there with little choice in the matter:

4LR: "Folk are always moaning about Wester Hailes, I'll be glad to get out of here, I think it's a dump."

3LR: " I don't think its because of my depression I dislike this place, but I would move out of here tomorrow if I got another house... I really dislike this place."

The lack of choice and captivity in the Wester Hailes area felt by local residents was confirmed by this WHEC profesional:

14S: "The impression I get is that most people who live in Wester Hailes don't want to live there. They more or less had to come out here because that's the only place they could get a house... I think

they don't enjoy it. At the back of their minds they're hoping that sometime in the future, they're going to be able to move... to the sort of place they really do want to live and devote some time to."

TABLE 5.6.: ATTITUDES OF LOCAL RESIDENTS TO LIVING IN WESTER HAILES		
Aspects of Wester Hailes	Disadvantages	Advantages
	Nos (%) of respondents	
Environment	13(93)	9(64)
Relationships	10(71)	6(43)
Facilities	7(50)	4(29)
None	1 (7)	3(21)
Total	14	14

As shown in Table 5.6., for 93% of local respondents the main disadvantage of living in Wester Hailes was seen in terms of its general 'environment', i.e., the isolating and anti-social living conditions owing to the cramped accomodation in high-rise flats and the vast and open 'concrete jungle' outside:

7LR: "I mean the obvious bad points are the way it's situated in this concrete jungle... There's an awful lot of it - it's like a restriction, this concrete. Y'got one wee piece of grass here and one wee piece of grass there and the rest is made out of total concrete. As far as I'm concerned that's no way for anybody to live. Nobody should have to put up with this."

9LR: "Some of these types of houses they've built... they're huge blocks which should never have been built. They're too big. People move into these places, old people in particular, and they sit there in that little house they've got, and they won't move because they're strange to the place. It's too vast. If nobody was going to see them, they'd never see anybody... That type of housing should never have been built... They're built to make people feel insecure, feel lost and feel they've got nothing."

The effect of close physical proximity to other unknown tenants, imposed by the design and construction of the 'housing units' in

Wester Hailes, was perceived to be a distrustful and suspicious distance between co-residents in a stair and the desire for privacy within the household group. Consequently, the lack of social relationships with other residents, the anonymity, the unfriendliness and the loneliness of living in Wester Hailes were common perceptions for those not working outside the home or not involved in any outside activities. The perception of Wester Hailes as an insular and isolated community existing at a distance from the outside world was also conveyed through references to the area as 'out here' or 'up here'. For example:

7LR: "Out here you're lucky if you see your neighbours. They're very few and far between, and those y'do see only really say 'Hello', 'Good morning', 'how are you?' and walk off. You don't know them as you'd like to know them... I mean the neighbours up here are pleasant, but y'never really see 'em and there's never the sorta garden fence thing... That sorta thing just doesn't exist."

10LRB: "In Wester Hailes people just walks past you and doesn't say 'hello'. People just keep themselves to themselves unless you make the effort to speak first."

4LR: "Wester Hailes is a lonely place... There are a lot of young families which is something that's wrong with it - all young families struggling with kids to bring them up, and they're not involved. They haven't got outside interests. They've got four walls. They live in isolation most people, four walls, me, the family, you're cut off."

A further negative feature of the design of the Wester Hailes scheme, was seen as the way each of the smaller community areas were inhabited by families with children of a similar age. This has led to the existence of 'gangs' or 'cliques' of youngsters of the same age group living in the same area. For the local adult residents, the 'youth problem' in Wester Hailes was perceived in terms of groups of children 'hanging around' with their 'pals' on the stairs and 'bothering' older residents. As in the Edinburgh District Council Report (1976), the

'youth problem' was blamed on the paucity of social and recreational facilities in the local area by 50% of local respondents (Table 5.6.). From the viewpoint of the local authority, this need was served through the provision of recreational, educational and sporting facilities in the new community school in Wester Hailes. From the viewpoint of some of the local respondents, however, the problem remains since provision was too formal, large-scale and organised for much of the Wester Hailes teenage population:

2LR: "I think what maybe would do more for them... is some sort of real town Pally dance hall thing that they could go to, not an organised disco in WHEC where you've got to be out at half eleven and everything's all cut short."

4LR: "When you get to the thirteen age upwards, then there's a great big void other than the organised, youth leader run WHEC type activities. There's nothing informal... They're forgetting they're encouraging them to drink at that age, 'cos it's the only way they can get access into anything else or into company if they don't like organised youth clubs."

In contrast to the largely negative images conveyed by half the local respondents and all the WHEC staff, the other 50% of local respondents held a positive image of Wester Hailes as a residential community (Table 5.5.). In support of the holistic education's conception of the contemporary 'community of interests' based on 'participation', these respondents tended to have developed links within the community through taking part in local activities and interests and had avoided, or broken out of, isolation within the home. Thus, for this group of local respondents, the advantages of living in Wester Hailes were perceived in terms of the proximity of friends and other 'nice' people ('Relationships' in Table 5.6.) and in the growth of organised clubs and group activities available in the local area ('Facilities' in Table 5.6.):

Q: "What is it you like about the area?"

11LR: "I don't know, maybe it's just because I've been brought up here and all my friends are here... I know a lot of people in Wester Hailes. Some of my friends stay here, some in Calder Road.. My work is out here and my friends are here."

Q: "What is it you like about living in Wester Hailes?"

4LR: "It's open for kids. They've got space, they're no living on the main road of a tenement, nowhere to play... If kids are interested in group-type activities, the younger age group, then there's plenty on for them if they want to become involved. Now we've got the swimming pool, we've got everything. I like it, I like living in Wester Hailes."

From the viewpoint of these respondents who were actively involved in work/leisure activities in the local area, the idea was often expressed that 'life is what you make it':

7LR: "Basically, in areas like this, you've got to go out and find it and do it yourself."

6LR: "You've got to make it what you think of it. You've got to make out the best way you can. It's as simple as that. You've got to make out and get along as best you can. Doing your best. "

4LR: "I don't think it's a dump. It's what you make of anywhere."

These practical ideologies of 'community' indicated a certain consistency with the theoretical ideology of holistic education which envisages the 'social', resourceful and autonomous individual developing through active participation in community life (see Chapter 2.3.3.).

A major contribution to the development of a more positive image of Wester Hailes has stemmed from the use of the community newspaper, the Sentinel, by local groups and community development projects as a channel to react against the negative images conveyed by the local press on issues such as vandalism, violence, tenant problems and

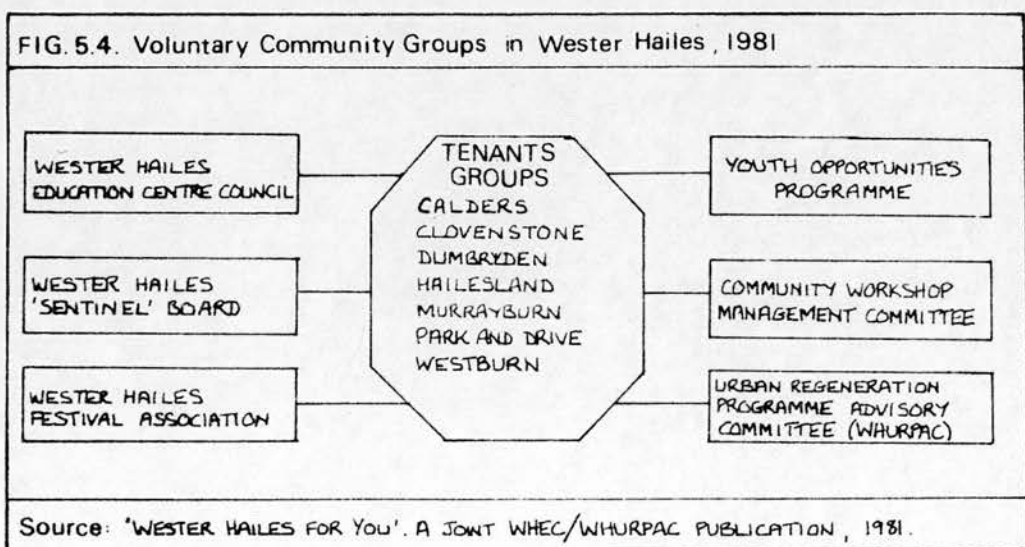
housing conditions. The Sentinel conveys the alternative view of Wester Hailes as a neighbourhood that is building up a strong sense of solidarity through an increasing involvement of local people in community activities and enterprises, the resolution of local problems through confrontations with their common landlord, the local authority, and thereby, gradually effecting improvements in the quality of the local living conditions. According to McConnell (1979), the role of a community newspaper in 'image projection' is vital in changing the attitudes of local residents and local authorities to housing areas like Wester Hailes. The following section examines attitudes to and problems of local-based community development programmes in Wester Hailes and their role in promoting the ideology of 'participation' and 'change' within the local community.

5.4.2. Community Development in Wester Hailes

The Social and Community Development Programme (SCDP) was established in Wester Hailes in January 1975 by Edinburgh District Council as part of a city-wide project focusing on four 'disadvantaged' working class areas in Edinburgh. SCDP was instrumental in the setting up of many of the community group activities that exist in Wester Hailes today and in alleviating a number of local problems, such as the shortage of social and recreational amenities in the local area. Community development in Wester Hailes has been centred on the employment of an Area Coordinator by SCDP and the establishment of a Community Workshop and a community newspaper. Financial support for this professional-coordinated community work in Wester Hailes has been obtained from

various government sources: Edinburgh District Council's SCDP funds from 1975 to 1979, and the Urban Regeneration Programme since 1980; the Manpower Services Commission's YOP and STEP schemes which have employed a number of local people in community-based work activities; the Scottish Development Agency which has awarded an equipment grant for the STEP projects; and the Social Work Voluntary Organisation's Grants Committee which has paid the operational costs of the Good Neighbourhood scheme in Wester Hailes, known as FISH.

Like WHEC's staff, the professional core of community workers/educators in Wester Hailes are employed by the State, through government sponsored programmes or by the local authority, but are dependent on a certain level of voluntary local support and work for their successful operation. Also like WHEC's staff, they are continually trying to stimulate interest and involvement by local people in community activities, mainly centred on the Community Workshop. As Figure 5.4. shows, the main source of local voluntary



support for community development in Wester Hailes comes from the seven Tenants Groups, and members of these key groups also tend to be local representatives on a range of other local committees.

Community development work in Wester Hailes has certainly contributed to the improvement of social conditions in the area since the housing scheme first became inhabited. Examples of community action projects in Wester Hailes include the continual protests over housing conditions and lobbies about local transport and health services, the re-zoning of school catchments and the provision of allotments, play areas and other recreational facilities. One of the effects of the activity by community pressure groups can be seen in the expansion of local services and facilities in Wester Hailes (refer Figure 5.2.).

The presence of such community development activities and groups in Wester Hailes, working to improve local living conditions in the housing scheme, was regarded by some local respondents, both active and non-active, as a bonus to the self-image of the community:

9LR: "All those Associations take an interest in the place that they stay in. They do it entirely voluntarily so obviously you've got people here actually take an interest in the place that they stay in. It appears to work. It makes me see that if they're interested in it as much as I'm interested in it then we can't have much problems in the area."

Another local respondent saw the success of community development work in a housing scheme as providing the essential difference between Wester Hailes and other 'problem' schemes in the City:

4LR: "I wouldn't like to see it become another Craigmillar, and I don't think it will ever happen. But if what has been done and the people that're involved hadnae got involved and got the (Community) Workshop and other things going - play space, playgrounds and that - Wester Hailes would've been another Craigmillar or Pilton."

Community development in Wester Hailes can, therefore, be portrayed as a 'success story' in terms of obtaining government finance for projects, intervening and putting pressure on local government plans for the area and formalising a committee structure for community consultation and participation. However, such community action has only ever involved a small minority of local residents (e.g., as members of Tenant Groups) and has been initiated and directed by professional community workers. It has met with inarticulate resistance from a large proportion of local people who perceived with resentment the control and domination of local initiatives by professional groups based in the Community Workshop. This provided the basis for several local respondents reluctance to participate in these community development activities:

7LR: "...the Workshop, Lawrence Demarco's lot. They're a sorta mafia all of their own. I mean they control what goes on around that area. If they don't like it, if it doesn't fit, then out y'go. I mean, they sorta put a clamp on it down there. But basically what they're after is money. They want it to succeed, so they want to pull in the money as quickly as they can."

2LR: "There's loads going on (in Wester Hailes), or rather there's a lot of Associations trying to do things for the area, but... this is why I've just given up all my meetings - it's the same people doing all the work for you and there's no way of getting new blood in. And you end up with a pretty high professional mix in these groups, and you're not getting any of the people you want to get. You're not getting any of the 'plebs'... The ones who should have a voice don't have it, but it's not because they will not do it."

The widespread apathy of local people was regarded by a number of professional respondents as a major problem for community involvement in WHEC/Community Workshop activities. The continued existence of such non-participation and apathy by target 'problem' groups may be interpreted as a form of resistance to professionalised community development work. This was noted by one of the WHEC staff respondents:

15S: "They themselves ('problem groups') don't involve themselves in local activity and local groups. I think the activist groups are doing an essential job for that group, but they are a minority against the wider community... Large numbers of people in Wester Hailes don't necessarily get involved in the community life... because they're not attracted to the activists who seem to be leaders within the minority... The Committees which were being offered were a bit meaningless because they weren't really things that these individuals identified with."

Although community development activities in Wester Hailes are widely acclaimed for their vital contribution to the improvement of local services and facilities in the area, they were also perceived by many respondents in the educational environment of WHEC as a constraint on local participation. Firstly, its perception as an elitist or closed professionalised venture, concerning only a small group of paid workers and an active core of local volunteers, has restricted wider local participation. Secondly, the attitude that discounts the necessity for local voluntary participation if there are professional workers employed to do that work was also found to act as serious constraints on the greater development of participation by local people. These factors were also found to be relevant to the professional-based educational experiment at WHEC and its attempts to encourage local involvement in its programme and decision-making.

5.4.3. WHEC As A Community Facility

In this section the impact of WHEC on the local community of Wester Hailes is examined, as perceived by the 'providers' and 'consumers' of the community resource. The constraints on wider school-community involvement are considered in terms of the perception of WHEC as a community facility.

Unlike the local-based community development activities in Wester Hailes considered in the previous section, WHEC is not as dependent on local voluntary support owing to its statutory function as a school and operation as a leisure complex. Yet, in its role as a community school, WHEC is committed to design and operate its programme of activities to attract the involvement and participation of local people and to encourage them to make use of its resources according to their own educational, recreational and social 'needs'. Although school-community involvement is a central aim of WHEC's role as a community school, as noted earlier, its community education programme shows a bias towards formal group and youth work activities which have tended to reinforce its image as a 'school' among members of the local community.

The interviews revealed that perceptions of WHEC's impact on the Wester Hailes community as a whole were predominantly negative. As Table 5.7. shows, WHEC staff were the most sceptical of the Centre's role as a community resource and of its contribution to local life. This may reflect their higher expectations of the community school experiment and their awareness of its inappropriate image for the Wester Hailes locality. The local residents and local government respondents appeared more uncertain and divided in their assessments of WHEC's impact on the local community, albeit for differing reasons, apart from their agreement on its inappropriate image as a community facility serving the needs of the whole Wester Hailes population.

TABLE 5.7.: RESPONDENT GROUPS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPACT OF WHEC ON THE COMMUNITY				
	<u>Respondent Groups</u>			
<u>WHEC: Impact on Community?</u>	Local Residents	WHEC Staff	Local Government	Total
	Nos (%) of respondents			
Yes	7(50)	2(22)	3(43)	12(40)
No impact	7(50)	7(77)	4(57)	18(60)
Total	14(48)	9(31)	7(21)	30

Amongst the group of local respondents, the contribution of WHEC to community life was perceived mainly in terms of the opportunities and activities provided for children and young people in the area. For example, one pupil regarded WHEC as the only place in Wester Hailes where young people could go in the evenings; the new community school had provided them with an alternative to hanging around the stairs:

10LRB: "I think the pool brings a lot of people forward to use the facilities and other things rather than sit or stand around the stairs. I'm saying this from past experience cos that's what happened. We used to get shouted at by neighbours and things telling you to leave the stairs and get away from this bit and all this, ken. But when this place come, well, everybody just moved away and started going there at nighttime because there's plenty for you to do like, ken - use the facilities and come to the café."

Apart from this contribution to the provision for youth in Wester Hailes, adult residents were doubtful of the Centre's concern to be a 'community facility', and tended to view WHEC essentially as a school with extra recreational and sports provision:

12LRS: "It's a dead thing for the community, isn't it. It's basically a school with somewhere you can play squash and things... Fair enough we've got these rooms we can give over to people, but they're still classrooms... I would've thought this would've been better being

called Wester Hailes School and the community would've got just exactly what they would've done now."

7LR: "Well, first it says it's a 'community school' which means for the community of Wester Hailes. But then I would say, looking at the amount of people that use it, I think it doesn't even belong to us. It's totally destroyed the community bit."

Table 5.7. showed that the local resident group were equally divided in their positive/negative assessment of WHEC's impact on community life. Table 5.8.(A) clarifies this division by indicating a relationship between the attitudes of local respondents to the local community of Wester Hailes and their perception of WHEC as a constituent element within it.

TABLE 5.8.: ATTITUDES OF LOCAL RESIDENTS TO WESTER HAILES AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF WHEC AS A COMMUNITY FACILITY			
	<u>Attitude to Wester Hailes</u>		Total
	Like It	Dislike It	
Nos (%) of respondents			
<u>A. WHEC: Impact on Community?</u>			
Yes	4(57)	3(43)	7(50)
No impact	3(43)	4(57)	7(50)
<u>B. Reasons for Non-Involvement in WHEC</u>			
Negative Image	1(14)	7(100)	8(57)
Facilities/Programme	2(29)	4(57)	6(43)
Inconvenience	2(29)	4(57)	6(43)
Relationships	1(14)	1(14)	2(14)
Don't know	2(29)	-	2(14)
Total	7(50)	7(50)	14

Those local respondents who expressed a favourable view of Wester Hailes as a residential community also tended to perceive WHEC's contribution to the local area in a positive light. On the other hand, those who were unhappy living in Wester Hailes also tended to regard negatively WHEC's impact on the community. Given the earlier

suggestion that those local respondents who liked living in Wester Hailes also tended to be the ones most actively involved in local activities, the data suggest that active participation significantly affects attitudes of people to their local environment and to the opportunities and activities provided within it, such as those offered by WHEC. However, as Table 5.8.(B) indicates, a negative image of WHEC as a 'school' and recreation centre largely for young people acts against participation by those local residents who are unhappy with their general community environment. Indeed this group were far more critical of WHEC overall. More positively, those residents who were generally happy with life in Wester Hailes were less troubled by WHEC's image as a school and did not perceive this as a barrier to wider local participation. For this latter group of local respondents, WHEC's contribution to the community was seen in terms of the range of facilities it provided for local people. For example, this local resident made regular use of WHEC's sports facilities and assumed that everybody in Wester Hailes would benefit similarly from WHEC's new facilities:

6LR: "It's open to everybody in Wester Hailes. Everybody does their own thing. I mean before they would need to go away down to Meadowbank to play squash, table tennis or snooker, but they've got that down here now. I'd say it's affected everybody."

However, such positive views of WHEC's impact on the Wester Hailes community comprised the minority of cases amongst local respondents and are more typical of perspectives held by those active in community life. Within the wider educational environment of WHEC, more prevalent was the belief that WHEC had not made a significant contribution to the life of its host community as a local resource serving the needs of the community as a whole.

Summary

In examining the background and role of the three groups in WHEC's educational environment and their experiences and understandings of the community school experiment in Wester Hailes, a number of areas of incipient conflict and opposition were detected. In general, these are related to:

- i) The contrasts in the aims and expectations between the 'schooling'-oriented policy-makers in the local authority and the professionals who are primarily concerned with the community education objectives of the experiment.
- ii) The contradictory perspectives of a 'school' and a 'leisure' facility for the whole local area; and,
- iii) The contrast between the community education professionals' conception of 'community' and the social reality of life in Wester Hailes as experienced and perceived by the local residents interviewed.

These conflicts and contradictions are explored further in the following Chapter which is devoted to an analysis of the data concerning respondents' perceptions of 'education', 'leisure', 'school' and 'community' in relation to the community school experiment in Wester Hailes.

CHAPTER 6: PERSPECTIVES OF EDUCATION, LEISURE, SCHOOL AND
COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

6.1. EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY

6.2. EDUCATION AND LEISURE

6.3. LEISURE AND COMMUNITY

6.4. THE INTERACTION OF LEISURE, EDUCATION, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5 the roles and perspectives of each of the three groups of respondents were considered as a background to an analysis of their lived experience, or practical ideologies, of the community school experiment in Wester Hailes. In this Chapter, the relationship between these three groups is examined through an analysis of their attitudes to, perspectives and interpretations of, 'education', 'leisure', 'school' and 'community' in relation to Wester Hailes Education Centre (WHEC). The analysis and interpretation of the interview data in sections 6.1-6.3 is set out in a two-fold sequence in order to consider in detail the perceptions of these ideas, and their interrelation, by people living and/or working within the educational environment of WHEC. Finally, the extent to which these notions were found to be integrated within the research setting is considered in section 6.4.

The following format has been observed in Chapter 6:

6.1. Education and community: This section is devoted to an examination of the ways in which contrasting ideologies of education and schooling are found to set limits on the development of the experiment in community education.

6.2. Education and leisure: The distinction is drawn between 'education for leisure', which is commonly associated with the 'schooling' ideology of leisure activities, as a subsidiary and separate component of the secondary school curriculum (Basini, 1975; Hendry, 1978); and the notion of 'education through leisure', which is associated with the ideologies of adult education, recurrent

education and lifelong education (McConnell, 1979; Carroll, 1979). To what extent does WHEC as a community school manage to integrate the 'school' and 'community' approaches to education through its leisure dimension?

6.3. Leisure and community: This section comprises a critical examination of the contrasts between the ideas of 'leisure' held by local respondents and the conception of leisure held by the professionals involved with WHEC and the form and style of recreation provided by the Centre for the community.

6.4. The interaction of leisure, education, school and community: In this section, the interrelation of these ideas for respondents is analysed by examining both the education-leisure dimension of the relationship between the school and the community and situations in which the integration of education, work and leisure were apparent within WHEC and the Wester Hailes community.

6.1. EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY

In Part I of this thesis, it was seen that one of the main issues engendered in the emergent ideology of holistic education, of which community education/schools are a part, is its criticism of many of the aims, methods and values central to the established ideology and form of schooling. The bases for conflict between competing educations is all the more overt in the context of a community school, like WHEC, where the experiment in community education has been introduced within

a general educational environment in which expectations of and attitudes towards schools have been moulded over the years by the traditional orthodoxy of education and schooling. It is not surprising, therefore, that tensions and conflicts are evident between 'traditional' and 'progressive' ideologies of education and schooling among groups within WHEC's educational environment. In this section, an attempt is made to clarify and define these conflicts through an analysis of the interview data.

An early conflict that arose between school and community was seen in Chapter 5.3. in the implementation of a new 'discipline' system based on responsibility rather than authority and the conservative response of local pupils and parents to the relative freedom and lack of overt control mechanisms in the school. As is shown in Table 6.1., even stronger contrasts can be detected between the three respondent groups in relation to their attitudes to education and schooling.

Local residents were much more retentive of the values of 'traditional' schooling and less committed to the informal approach associated with community education which is embraced, by and large, by WHEC staff. In Table 6.1.A., there is agreement between local residents and local government respondents concerning the individual development of school pupils and the traditional academic/employment objectives of schooling. These goals were regarded as more valuable than the broader aims of community education, such as education for leisure and unemployment in schools, which were strongly supported by the WHEC professionals.

TABLE 6.1.: RESPONDENT GROUPS AND ATTITUDES TO SCHOOLING

Attitudes to Schooling	Respondent Groups			Total
	Local Rsdtts.	WHEC Staff	Local Govt.	
(Nos. (%) of respondents)				
<u>A. Purposes of Schooling:</u>				
Individual development	14(100)	8(89)	8(100)	30(97)
Academic/employment	13(93)	6(67)	7(87)	26(84)
Non-working life	9(64)	9(100)	6(75)	24(77)
Domestic skills	3(21)	3(38)	2(29)	8(26)
Total	14(47)	9(29)	8(26)	31
<u>B. Important Features of a Community School:</u>				
Environment	13(93)	7(78)	2(100)	22(88)
Relationships	10(71)	7(78)	2(100)	19(76)
Schooling	-	4(44)	2(100)	6(24)
Innovations	-	5(55)	-	5(20)
Total	14(56)	9(36)	2(8)	25
<u>C. Features of an 'Ideal' School:</u>				
TRADITIONAL:				
Schooling	6(43)	-	2(50)	8(30)
Control	7(50)	1(11)	-	8(30)
Environment	1(7)	2(22)	-	3(11)
General education	1(7)	-	-	1(4)
PROGRESSIVE:				
Schooling	8(57)	9(100)	4(100)	21(78)
Relationships	3(21)	8(89)	2(50)	13(48)
General education	3(21)	4(44)	3(75)	10(37)
Environment	5(36)	1(11)	1(25)	7(26)
Control	4(29)	3(33)	-	7(26)
Innovations	3(21)	1(11)	1(25)	5(18)
Total	14(52)	9(33)	4(15)	27

Interestingly, the respondents from the local authority group, while alert to the implications of community schooling (Table 6.1.B.), tended to place greater emphasis on traditional academic schooling than the WHEC professionals (Table 6.1.C.). This feature of the data is indicative of the intra-professional debate surrounding the community school experiment in Wester Hailes.

Further evidence of the conflict between the school and the community is found in Table 6.1.C. on the issue of discipline. While local respondents opted for a 'traditional' approach to discipline and 'control' in an ideal school, the WHEC staff laid greater emphasis on the 'progressive' and informal approach to teacher-pupil relationships.

Having established the existence of contrasting ideologies of education and schooling among the three groups of respondents in WHEC's educational environment, it is important to define more clearly the basis of these antagonisms. What elements comprise the 'traditional' ideology of education and schooling against which the the WHEC experiment is assessed by the local respondents, especially parents? To what extent are their views supported or contradicted by other groups/individuals within WHEC's educational environment?

The interview survey revealed that all groups perceived parents as concerned primarily with schooling issues, such as academic success, exams, qualifications and opportunities for further education (Table 6.2.B). For example, for many of the local adult respondents the ability of a school to enforce a form of coercive discipline, and, thus, to create an atmosphere conducive to 'hard study', obedience and

TABLE 6.2.: RESPONDENT GROUPS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF A SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN/ PARENTS/ TEACHERS/ LOCAL AUTHORITY/ LOCAL COMMUNITY

<u>The most important aspects of a school for:</u>	<u>Respondent groups</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Local Rsdts.</u>	<u>WHEC Staff</u>	<u>Local Govt.</u>	
(Nos. (%) of respondents)				
<u>A. Children</u>				
Schooling	8(57)	6(66)	4(100)	18(67)
Relationships	7(50)	7(77)	3(75)	17(63)
Environment	5(36)	2(22)	2(50)	9(33)
Obligation/negatives	5(36)	1(11)	2(50)	8(36)
Indiv. development	2(14)	3(33)	1(25)	6(22)
D.K./ irrelevant	1(7)	-	-	1(4)
<u>B. Parents</u>				
Schooling	7(50)	18(89)	4(100)	19(70)
Relationships	7(50)	7(78)	1(25)	15(57)
Obligation/negatives	5(36)	3(33)	1(25)	9(33)
Environment	3(21)	1(11)	-	4(15)
Indiv. development	2(14)	1(11)	1(25)	4(15)
<u>C. Teachers</u>				
Relationships	10(71)	9(100)	3(75)	22(81)
Job	6(43)	5(55)	3(75)	14(52)
Environment	4(29)	2(22)	1(25)	7(26)
Schooling	5(36)	1(11)	1(25)	6(22)
<u>D. Local Authority</u>				
Negatives/obligation	12(86)	6(67)	3(73)	21(78)
Schooling	3(21)	6(67)	4(100)	13(48)
Environment	4(29)	2(22)	2(50)	8(30)
<u>E. Local Community</u>				
Irrelevant/ D.K.	7(54)	5(55)	1(25)	13(50)
Environment	6(46)	2(22)	2(50)	10(38)
Negatives	1(8)	6(67)	2(50)	9(35)
Schooling	3(23)	2(22)	2(50)	7(27)
Relationships	2(15)	2(22)	2(50)	6(23)
Total	14(52)	9(33)	4(15)	27

academic achievement, formed an important element in their idea of a 'good' school:

6LR: "In at 9 o'clock, with one and a half hours break to eat their meals. And get their teachers to thump it right into their faces, any vandalism, things like that. To study, study and study... Stricter control over 'em. Give the teachers a free hand with 'em if they get cheeky. That's just what half of them are needing, 'cos they're just getting away with a lot nowadays, compared to my standards when I was at school."

4LR: "I think it's very necessary that they (schools) get back to learning some basics and stop this too casual an attitude to education now in primary age group. And if they don't suffer at that age, by the time they get to secondary education, they're too far behind. And a lot of it's the fault of the schools and teachers now... I don't think some discipline and getting down to the hard work hurt any kid."

The belief that discipline and authority improves the efficiency of schooling, and that informality between teachers and pupils detracts from it, was often expressed by local respondents:

5LR: "I think they're too pally, the (WHEC) teachers... Y'know they're like friends. I find that if it's a friend that's trying to teach me something, I find I can't learn, because I think 'och, I just won't bother tonight. I just don't study hard enough because I know I wouldn't get into any bother or that, whereas if you're not too pally with whoever's teaching you, you tend to do it, 'cos you don't know what they're gonna say."

Another aspect of the traditional ideology of education and schooling expressed by local respondents, against which WHEC is evaluated by the local community, is a concern that the school should present a 'respectable' public image through the dress and appearance of its pupils:

11LRS: "I like a school that looks to the education part of it, I like to see uniforms, I really do. I think that this school's got such a bad name too, y'know, cos the way kids dress and that, y'know... skirts with things sticking out the back and that, y'know."

Expressing similar beliefs and sentiments, this respondent was

optimistic that WHEC would see the error of its 'progressive' ways 'and become a proper school' :

2LR: "And if it does, I'll be the first one to give it credit. Y'know, it's going to improve and everything's going to tighten up and going to start operating properly. That it will care about children going farther than City exams and having the whole thing become less lax. And if that happens, then I'll be much happier."

Incipient grounds for conflict are apparent, then, in the local community's desire for a more disciplined and formal approach to schooling than is evident in the new WHEC community school. This tension is further emphasised by the fact that, as shown in Table 6.2.B, all groups acknowledged the importance that parents attach to schooling for academic attainment. Yet, in contrast, many respondents regarded teachers (the delivery system) as relatively unconcerned by such matters (Table 6.2.C.). It is around this point that a fundamental constraint is seen in the development of WHEC as a community school, owing to the contradictory interests of the parents (community) and the teachers (school).

It is misleading, however, to polarise the interests of parents and the community school in a simplistic way. This is done primarily by portraying the WHEC teachers as having little concern for the academic aims of children's schooling and an interest only in the reform of the formal authority-based relationships between teachers and pupils. Undeniably, the democratization of teacher-pupil relationships is fundamental to the conception of a community school for the WHEC teachers. Yet, as this WHEC teacher pointed out, it is through this reform that they perceived the development of a more efficient form of school education :

15S: "Our ethos is that every child is equal... I think if maybe the youngster is treated equal and teachers have the interest in the youngsters, what will happen as a by-product will be better exam results. The things that we're relating to the youngsters, interesting them in the subjects, supporting them, reinforcing positively the whole attitude thing, the teachers relationship to the child - that in the long term must hopefully improve... the results of the testing system that exists... I think that difference in relationship will hopefully improve the worth of the community school as we see it here."

But the WHEC professionals stood alone in their concern for, and interest in, the educational reforms inherent in the idea of a community school: Neither of the other two groups of respondents acknowledged these in their conceptions of a community school (Table 6.1.B.). Although there is clear evidence in the data of opposition and resistance by the local community to innovation and change in the established model of school education, it was frequently the case that local respondents' idea of 'school' reflected their own past, and often unpleasant, experiences. Preferences for existing school practices by most local people were seen to reflect a general distrust and suspicion of modern educational experiments, like WHEC, rather than a firm belief in the efficacy of traditional forms, as one local parent explained:

4LR: "It's security, security to the parents, it's not because it helps the youngsters or that it's a better method... It's a long term habit that's been built into you. You've been brought up with it. And you're seeing very fast changes in the educational side of life and no proof that they're any use. Now you don't ask the youngster if he thinks it's working, you just complain about it. Parents, they don't sit down and discuss their education or anything they want. They're told what to do."

Although the local parents interviewed tended to have an implicit faith in traditional modes of schooling, they were also the most sceptical of the relevance of the present system of schooling for those groups involved (see 'obligation/negatives' in Table 6.2.).

For example, this parent was disillusioned with the outcome of the schooling process for working class children in terms of opportunities for a good job and socio-economic advancement:

6LR: "When a kid goes to a public (state) school, he starts off clean and nice. By the time he gets to his secondary he's got an idea of what subjects go on and that... and then when it's time to leave his secondary school, he might get the chance to go to University of college if his parents can afford it. If not, he's just gonna go to work and there's lots of dead end jobs. Y'see it's a dead end thing."

Similarly, this local parent was doubtful of the educational value of schooling and tended to regard schools as compulsory institutions provided to contain children until the age where they could either go to work, or go to war:

9LR: "(School is) just a place to get rid of the kids. Y'see school's just a necessary stopgap between a kid being born and running about the house to getting rid of the kid before it starts work... School was only a process of putting in the way something that makes lads think and do things and then to release them all as cannon fodder... Schools didn't exist for to give us education, schools just existed just because there was a law that stated, 'you must go to school'. You went there to the age of fourteen, and then you were off. And this was a necessary thing in those days."

The idea of the school as a support agency central to the production process and the working adult population was found in the notion of the school as a 'child minding agency', expressed below by a local authority community worker:

26LG: "The school has nothing to do with them (parents). Its main advantage is that they don't have to look after their kids all year round. I mean there's a tremendous relief when the holidays finish. So the idea of a school strike is not so much 'Oh my God, the kid is losing his algebra', but more 'well, I've got to make the dinner this morning. I cannae go to m'work'. They're seen as a social minding agency."

For both the local government respondents and local residents, the

experience of schooling for the pupils was seen as irrelevant, obligatory and unpleasant, and something which they either 'came to terms with' or 'escaped' (see 'obligation/negatives' in Table 6.2.A).

This viewpoint was expressed in the following ways:

8LR: "The kids nowadays? I don't think they find anything important at all. I don't think that kids think that schools matter at all - the biggest percentage of them anyway."

7LR: "Getting away from it (school). Escaping it. Because say in my days it was the system. It was too much them and us. They were really heavy and you had to sit back and take it or escape from it - I mean by skiving."

25LG: "I don't think they find anything (about school) important. It's more of a drudge they have to face and come to terms with. I think they recognise the necessity of the school element. They don't always like it, don't enjoy it, but I think they recognise that they have to do that..."

This negative conception of 'school' was confirmed by some of the WHEC teachers in relation to the non-academic pupils:

13S: "I think a lot of the non-academic kids see school as a kind of prison type of place. Y'know, they feel locked in. I think they get fed up with the idea that they can't move about. They've got to sit and they've got to try and work to the expectations we expect. It's very difficult for kids to sit from nine to three-thirty in a building and go through a four period day here. I mean, that's quite a demanding thing."

Indeed, when the significance of the different aspects of schools perceived to be important for various groups is examined (Table 6.2.), teachers were the only group for whom schools were not perceived as being an adverse feature in their lives. Both local residents and WHEC staff shared a mutual antipathy to the local authority which is perceived largely to be involved with schools because of its statutory obligations, but whose main concern was in maintaining consensus with the local communities and gaining prestige within professional circles

(see 'obligation/negatives' in Table 6.2.D.). This viewpoint was confirmed by the local authority respondents themselves:

22LG: "The local authority are not wanting to built places that are going to be a problem, that are going to have a bad name, that are going to be a load of trouble. They're going to want to build places the parents are going to be happy with, be impressed with or dazzled with; that the community is going to be happy with - maybe that means building community facilities. And when it comes to visitors to outside the area making official visits which are going to be reported in the press - 'so and so went to visit such and such a school, and they were impressed'."

Q: "Do you think that the local authority is receptive to public opinion about what people think they ought to be doing in schools?"

25LG: "Receptive! (laughter) I think it's conscious of it! I think it pays heed to it because by and large it wants to have the acceptability. So that if it's not getting pressurised and hassled about the sort of product that's emerging from it, then I think it would regard that as satisfactory."

The local authority respondents, although regarding their statutory obligations as paramount, were also critical of the school as a local-based resource. They regarded schools as introverted institutions, isolated from the outside world :

21LG: "How many bloody schools do you know where you can't even find the door? I'm wandering round schools in West Lothian and Arnbank - I couldn't even get in! And when you do get in there's more prohibitive signs."

25LG: "If one, for example, has a building which is predominantly, well exclusively, concerned with the statutory functions, then inevitably I think the focus of attention of the school and the staff tends to be inwards because it cannot contemplate satisfying any other need."

This idea of a school as a closed and introverted local institution within the local authority was seen to have created a negative response among community education workers in the Region concerning their potential for use by the wider community:

22LG: "It's been tried but it only works to a limited extent in Lothian because there are a lot of Community Education staff who don't regard schools as the least bit important. Whereas in other parts of Scotland the community workers are doing a hell of a lot developing community use of school premises."

In confirmation of this critical view concerning the significance of a local school to its surrounding community, a majority of both local residents and WHEC staff respondents were sceptical of the relevance of WHEC for the local community as a whole (Table 6.2.E.). This finding gives additional support to the perceptions of the impact of WHEC on the community of Wester Hailes, shown in Table 5.7. In both these areas of questioning, the WHEC staff were the most sceptical of the perceived importance of a school to local people as an educational and/or recreational resource in the neighbourhood. This attitude may be understood in terms of their position as mediators in the delivery process, but it was explained by the WHEC teachers themselves in terms of the limitations imposed by the community's traditional interpretation of a school as a child- and education-centred, authoritarian institution and, therefore, as a world from which adults and non-educational activities are excluded:

13S: "I think they have their own mental picture which was, y'know, placed in their brains when they were at school themselves. Because they've never ventured into school to see what it's like now, that's the only image they've got. They think it's an authoritarian place. Kids come along here... they get educated... and hopefully at the end of six years their kids will be educated forever."

15S: "I'm guilty of this, of thinking of a school as that's the school over there and going there to vote once every four years, or if I've got kids there then I might be interested, but it's not somewhere I would think of using, for anything. It's somewhere where younger people go. I think most communities have that idea and it's been built up over years and years."

19S: "One of the problems of getting people to come in here is the fact that they see it as school, despite the fact that it can be known as lots of other things if you want. They still see it as school and

they don't want anything to do with it. It's a love-hate thing. They hated it for themselves... but they're telling their kids to get stuck in 'cos it'll be the best years of their life."

From the evidence presented so far concerning the meanings and interpretations of education and schooling among the three groups of respondents within WHEC's educational environment, much remains to be done to secure an acknowledged place in Wester Hailes for the Education Centre, both in its role as a secondary school that conforms to the expectations of local parents, and beyond this, in its role as a community facility that is conducive to wider recreational and educational use by local people. This conclusion is borne out not only in respect to the local respondents' understandings of the role of education and schooling in the life of the community, but also in the largely negative attitudes of all groups towards the school as a 'closed' institution, narrowly focused on its statutory obligation to educate and contain local children.

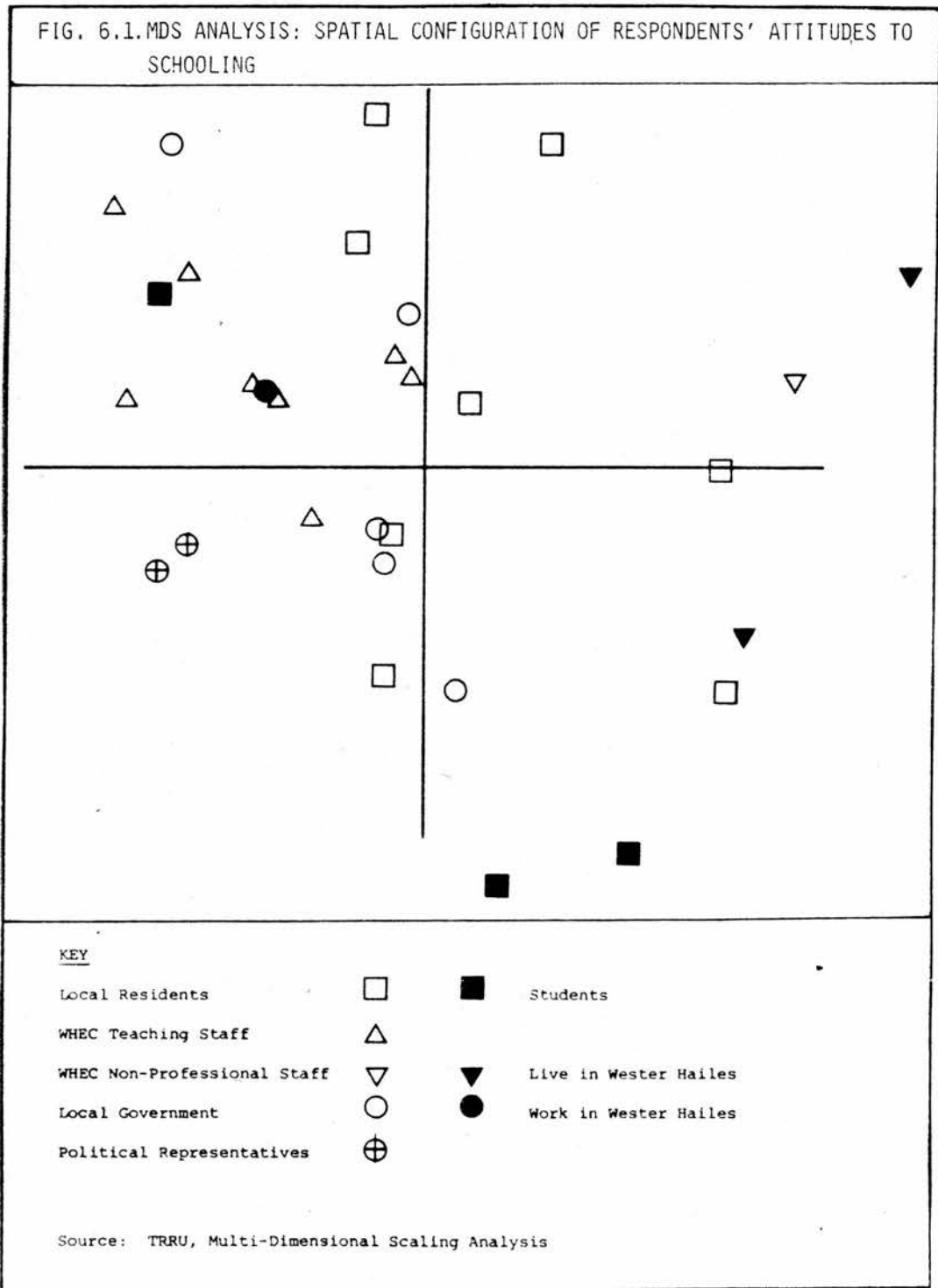
It has been suggested that within WHEC'S educational environment there is a conflict apparent between the WHEC professionals' progressive ideas of education and schooling, and the more traditional expectations and attitudes of the local community and some respondents within the local authority group. Until now the definition of these groups has been crude because of the emphasis on qualitative methods of analysis and interpretation of the data. In an attempt to clarify the structure of the relationships between respondents within the three groups, statistical methods of analysis were applied to a structured question in the interview survey which was answered by all thirty one respondents (Q40 in Appendix A). All the respondents interviewed were asked to select and then rank, five propositions from

the randomly assorted list of thirteen different objectives that school should pursue. The propositions, listed in Table 6.3., were intended to relate to contrasting conceptions of the role of school education and to elicit the constructs underlying individual attitudes to schooling. In this way, it was hoped to identify whether, and to what extent, different individuals and groups shared common perspectives on these issues which are central to the intra-professional debate about, and local interpretation of, community schooling.

The first step in the statistical analysis of the data acquired in connection with this question was the use of Multi Dimensional Scaling (MDS) techniques. One outcome of this method is to present the relationships between individual respondents in a simplified two-dimensional format. In effect, the aim of this technique is to define the relative position of an individual in perceptual space and to measure the 'distance' between individuals in terms of their attitudes to schooling. Figure 6.1. is a graphical representation of the spatial configuration of variations in respondents' attitudes to the purposes of schooling based on a simple measure of similarity, i.e., the number of propositions shared by different respondents. On the basis of this MDS analysis it was hoped to detect tendencies for individuals with similar professional/social positions relative to the community school to share similar ideological 'positions' and thus to investigate the concept of 'interest' as outlined in section 3.4.3.

TABLE 6.3.: PROPOSITIONS PRESENTED TO RESPONDENTS RELATING TO THE PURPOSES OF SCHOOLING.

<u>Purposes of Schooling:</u>	<u>Propositions Presented to Respondents</u>
JOB SKILLS	'They should teach skills directly related to getting a job'
ACADEMIC/EXAM SKILLS	'They should help children pass exams and get qualifications'
BASIC SKILLS	'They should concentrate on the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic'
DOMESTIC SKILLS	'They should teach skills relating to running a home and bringing up children'
PERSONAL APPEARANCE	'They should teach children how to present a clean and tidy appearance'
MORAL EDUCATION	'They should teach children right from wrong'
CAREER GUIDANCE	'They should teach children about job opportunities and careers'
WORK EXPERIENCE	'They should give children practical experience of working life'
PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	'They should teach children how to get on with other people'
INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT	'They should try to develop childrens' individual personality and character'
EDUCATION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT	'They should prepare children for unemployment as well as a full-time working life'
LEISURE EDUCATION	'They should try to develop in children a wide range of outside interests'
AWARENESS AND CRITICAL ABILITIES	'They should teach children to be aware and critical of what's going on in the world'



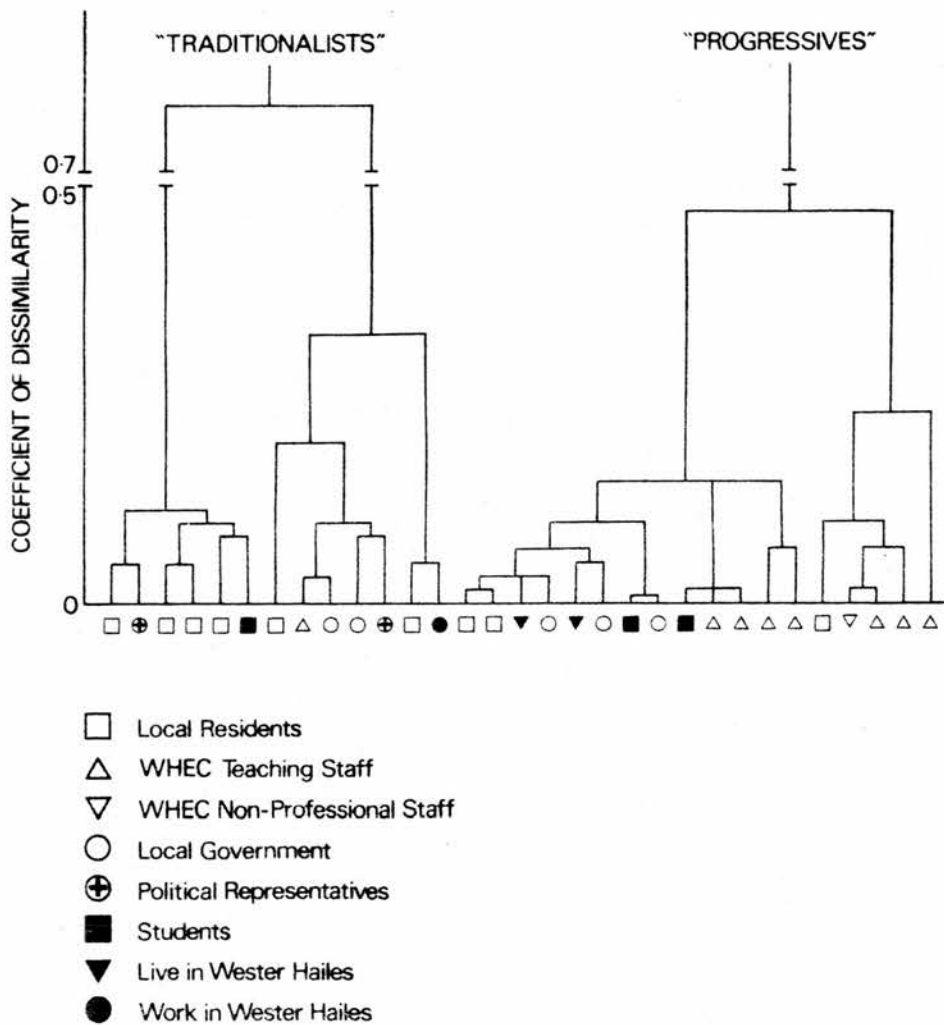
The shape of the symbols used in Figure 6.1. distinguishes between respondents from each of the three groups, while the colouring of the symbols distinguishes respondents' relation to the Wester Hailes area. The axes serve merely to provide a graphical notation around which to

structure the formation of relationships between individuals and can be rotated about their centre to assist in this process.

The evidence of the MDS analysis was encouraging through the distinctive grouping of WHEC professional staff in terms of their attitudes to schooling with a major section of the local authority personnel. Around this core, respondents from the local community and local authority groups are scattered at varying distances. However, this analysis was not conclusive in identifying coherent groups of respondents with similar attitudes, nor did it permit the ranking of propositions by each respondent. It was therefore decided to use Cluster Analysis to examine further whether individuals could be meaningfully grouped together according to their responses to this same question on the purposes of schooling. Subjects' responses were weighted to take into account their ranking by those interviewed. Using a statistical technique known as Hierarchical Fusion (Everitt, 1974), the analysis 'clustered' the respondents into groupings of increasing aggregation. Members of each group were clustered together in terms of the similarity of their attitudes to schooling, and their dissimilarity from members of other groups. The results of this Cluster Analysis are presented in Figure 6.2. in the form of a dendogram.

The process of clustering successfully located groups with similar attitudes to schooling at the early levels of the aggregation process and discriminated between individuals drawn from the different groups of respondents. Since the earlier the aggregation occurs, the more similar individuals are in terms of their attitudes, the four groups

FIG 6.2 DENDOGRAM OF CLUSTER ANALYSIS



Note: Based on Cluster Analysis of the attitudes of thirty-one respondents to propositions relating to the purposes of schooling. The technique was Hierarchical fusion.

identified quite early in the process of aggregation (0.33 coefficient of dissimilarity) were examined first. However, when these four Clusters were examined in terms of their profiles of attitudes, the groupings made little 'sense' in relation to the interpretative analysis. It was only when the Cluster Analysis had aggregated individuals into two main Clusters that the inner structure of the

attitudes under scrutiny provided an insight into the qualitative analysis of the interview data. The structure of the attitudinal profile of the two final Clusters is presented and examined in Table 6.4.

TABLE 6.4.: CLUSTER ANALYSIS: PROFILE OF ATTITUDES TO THE PURPOSES OF SCHOOLING FOR THE TWO FINAL CLUSTERS OF RESPONDENTS				
	CLUSTER 1 'TRADITIONALISTS'		CLUSTER 2 'PROGRESSIVES'	
<u>Purposes of Schooling</u>	Absolute Frequency %	Frequency Ratio*	Absolute Frequency %	Frequency Ratio*
Job Skills	39	2.4	-	-
Academic/Exam Skills	46	1.4	22	0.7
Basic Skills	54	1.4	28	0.7
Domestic Skills	31	1.4	22	0.9
Personal Appearance	23	2.4	-	-
Moral Education	31	1.9	6	0.3
Career Guidance	46	1.3	28	0.8
Work Experience	23	1.0	22	1.0
Personal Relationships	62	1.0	61	1.0
Individual Development	39	0.6	89	1.3
Education for Unemployment	15	0.4	56	1.4
Leisure Education	46	0.7	78	1.2
Awareness and Critical Abilities	46	0.7	89	1.3
Total	13		18	
*Frequency Ratio = Percentage occurrence in cluster/ percentage occurrence overall				
Source: TRRU, Cluster Analysis : Hierarchical Fusion.				

The profile of attitudes in Table 6.4. delineates the contrasting ideologies of the two clusters of respondents in relation to their views on the role of education in schools. The members of Cluster 1, labelled 'the Traditionalists', subscribe to the instrumental aims of education, such as the acquisition of job skills and personal and

moral education. In contrast, the members of Cluster 2, the 'Progressives', believe in the expressive aims of education with the emphasis on individual development and learning related to the broader issues of life, such as leisure, unemployment and a critical view of the world.

These profiles indicate the contrasting ideologies of schooling within the educational environment of the community school and epitomise the dilemma facing those associated with the WHEC experiment. The re-grouping of individual respondents into these two clusters supports the suggestion of the MDS analysis, i.e., the relative homogeneity, or solidarity, of the WHEC professionals interviewed (91% of whom were clustered as 'Progressives') in terms of their ideas about the aims of education in schools. The Cluster Analysis also indicated the incipient opposition between their progressive ideas about education and those of local residents (58% of whom were re-grouped as 'Traditionalists'), many of these respondents viewed the expansion of the leisure programme in schools as a threat to their statutory function of educating children for the world of employment. This was one of the ways in which the established 'schooling' ideology of education and training for work was seen as more valuable than, and separate from, education for leisure and unemployment.

Yet, Table 6.4. also gives an indication of a basis of agreement between 'Traditionalists' and 'Progressives'. Both clusters of respondents shared a common and strongly-felt concern for the development of children's abilities to cope with personal

relationships: 61-62% of respondents in both clusters valued this aim of school education, while 22-23% of members of each group felt that schools should help children to gain practical experience of working life. Both these propositions scored a Frequency Ratio of 1.0, indicating that these aims in schooling represent an 'average' concept amongst both the 'Traditionalists' and 'Progressives' in WHEC's educational environment. These shared objectives suggest an area of rapprochement and thus provide a possible focus for a development policy for WHEC that might attract support from all those involved.

Some qualifications must be made about the distinction between traditionalist and progressive educational ideologies among the local respondents. More progressive ideas of education and schooling were expressed by those local respondents who had had the closest contact with WHEC and its staff, thus suggesting a process of attitudinal change. A parallel can be drawn between this and the process of change described in Chapter 5.3. and 5.4. in relation to attitudes to the Wester Hailes community and participation in local activities and affairs. However, the distinction between traditional and progressive ideologies amongst local respondents was not, in reality, so clearly defined. Local respondents often expressed ambivalent attitudes to WHEC's 'new' style of schooling because, on the one hand, they held a strong belief in the traditional, disciplined, academic style of schooling as a key to the increasingly competitive world of employment. Yet, on the other hand, they had also been impressed by the more informal, relaxed and friendly atmosphere in the Centre and the fact that the building was open for the local public to use. Those local respondents who had greatest contact with WHEC and its

'progressive' staff either tended to express this ambivalent attitude to WHEC's approach, or they had been convinced by the professionals' arguments for community schooling and consequently had modelled their notion of an 'ideal' school on WHEC. For example, this local parent, a representative on the Centre Council, regarded WHEC's 'open', friendly and more 'pleasant' style of education as conducive both to the expansion of pupils' experiences in life and to adults' use of WHEC's facilities:

9LR: "That school, with all its complications, has shown avenues that a child can go through... It's the different avenues...In WHEC from the start it's different. You walk into a pleasant atmosphere. The school grounds are there, there's grass; there's playing fields - in the classrooms there's projects, there's a cafeteria, there's a swimming pool, which are all very, very pleasant. That creates your first impression of any place you go into."

Another local resident, who was unemployed at the time of the interview, had formulated his notion of an ideal school on the basis of his experience of WHEC and discussions with a teacher that he had met there. It was modelled on ideas of community education, i.e., the opportunity to experience a broad range of life situations and the notion of learning as a 'dialogue' between friends:

7LR : "I mean they teach you Social Studies...they don't actually tell you, but they take you out and say, 'right, we're going to do a small course on what it's like to be unemployed, or what it's like to be working, or what it's like to take the pressures of running a home. And those I feel are really important... They should take you into the political angles. I think there should be some of that in schools, I also think there should be a fair amount of leisure activities... - it shouldn't be all work, y' know.....When I was at school and the teacher told you something, you had to take it. There was no arguing with that. It should be a case of the teacher says something and even if it's right, you should be allowed to disagree with it... A more two-way thing to start a discussion... I mean, I'm prepared to listen to a friend talking rather than a boss or somebody who's authoritarian, y' know."

WHEC's broader view of education and its more informal approach to schooling had won over this respondent from WHEC's non-professional staff through its concern to develop good personal relationships. She was critical of the neglect of this aspect of education by the highly-esteemed academic schools:

11S: "I don't think they're the answer, they turn out their O'levels and their Highers, but they leave a great deal out. All they (her sons) knew was school... They'd no time for anything else. I think they've got to be able to relate to people once they leave school and I don't think these schools did that... I don't think they get to know the children, as children, they were just machines."

In this way, the interview data supported the claim that community schools could play an important, albeit gradual, role in changing peoples' attitudes to education and schooling. The community school's role in attitudinal change was recognised by individuals from all three groups:

21R: "...people have the reaction that we are educated gradually into the idea of the school serving more the needs of the community round here. But I think it will take a wee while...I think...that over the next two or three years, most will find out more about what's going on down there, and pluck up the courage. Perhaps there's loads of people who don't like the idea of going back into an institution at night. Once they get over that, then I think the local residents will realise."

20S: "Particularly in adult education, people take a long time before their ideas change...because I think we're probably too late to bring back very many of the adults into a kind of Education Centre, I think once we've created our own next generation of adults, they are likely to be the ones who want to take part in education here, or take part in activities elsewhere."

25LG: "...my experience tends to suggest...that the suspicion of the community to the school, and this previously regarded somewhat authoritarian and bureaucratic system which many have been exposed to as part of their schooling, suddenly seems to be taking a different attitude. And there's a certain suspicion that there's a catch in this because there's an authority and that's not how they operate. And I see a tremendous swing-round in that, a much more ready acceptance, most marked in my view in Wester Hailes."

Summary

The data on education and schooling presented in this section, have permitted an examination of the basis of conflict within WHEC's educational environment, both between the WHEC staff and local respondents and between the WHEC professionals and other politicians /professionals within the local authority group. Conflict has been mainly analysed in terms of the opposition between the educational ideologies of 'Traditionalists' and 'Progressives'. The grounds for conflict were evident in the stronger commitment of parents and the local authority to the established ideology and forms of schooling, whereas the WHEC teachers were critical of such academic, disciplinary and employment aims in the community school experiment. A basis for agreement was also indicated in the focusing of WHEC's schooling policy on issues of mutual educational concern to both school and community.

6.2. EDUCATION AND LEISURE

In this section the perspectives of education and leisure held by respondents within the educational environment of WHEC are examined critically in an attempt to evaluate the extent to which a community school can forge a link between compulsory school education and community education through the inter-relation of these two cultural processes.

In Chapter 5.2. it was found that the joint or integrated provision of sports and recreational facilities in community schools was seen by

the policy-makers within the local authority as one of the most significant innovations since it allows the local adult and school-age population greater opportunities to participate in educational and recreational activities. Community schools were claimed to be a more efficient form of local service provision and to enhance the image of local schools because of the extra facilities provided in them.

Indeed, it was found that the range of sports and recreational facilities provided within the new community school in Wester Hailes was the feature valued most by local respondents. For example, this local mother regarded the difference between WHEC and other secondary schools in terms of the wider range of leisure opportunities open to local people, especially the greater freedom and choice in the way in which pupils could use their spare time at school:

4LR: "...they've got facilities - whether adults put them to use or not, a lot of kids are putting them to use. They've got them coming into school. They've got a jukebox in the cafeteria. They're treated like adults. Y' know, the whole situation and system over there is different. If they want to put in 10p and play three punk records, they can do so. It's there. If they want to go swimming at lunch-time...they can do so. If they want to just sit in their Guidance Room, or whatever, there's clubs on at lunch-time for the school. It's all there for them. If a pupil doesn't use it, it's not the fault of the school. It's different."

However, the introduction of a leisure dimension within the school's programme provided a further focus of tension in the WHEC experiment between school and community. Many parents viewed the expansion and integration of leisure opportunities in a school as a potential threat to the school's statutory schooling function. Ironically, this dilemma might become more acute as youth unemployment increases and the competition for jobs becomes more intense. Again, the traditional perspective of education for work as being more

valuable than, and separate from, education for leisure (and unemployment) was expressed. A local government official gave his viewpoint as a parent in terms of the dilemma of choice between basic academic education which is essential to social and economic advancement, and the relatively unimportant, as he saw it, education for leisure:

25LG: "I'm concerned that they (children) should know how to use their leisure time, be encouraged to use it...building it into the fabric of their lives, but when I'm put to the wall as a parent, I would certainly put my eggs into the school's basket. If it was said to me that your child can either learn that, or do three times as many hours of music, culture and so on, the choice is yours, I'd go for the academic skills. Yes, I would, and I think the pressure will always be from parents in that direction because they recognise that it's the skills that one requires to make one's way in life. And perhaps one can pick up these other things going. It's no good being tremendously liberalised and ending up on the dole queue."

In addition to parents, the dispute between academic-oriented education for employment and education for leisure and a non-working life was clearly evident in the contrasting perspectives of the WHEC professionals and the local respondents on the purpose of schooling, shown in Table 6.5.

TABLE 6.5.: PERCEPTIONS OF THE PURPOSE OF SCHOOLING BY RESPONDENT GROUPS AND PARENTAL STATUS							
<u>Purpose of schooling:</u>	<u>Respondent groups</u>				<u>Parental status</u>		
	Local Rsdts	WHEC Staff	Local Govt	Total	Parent	Non-p.	Total
	Nos(%) of respondents				Nos(%) of respondents		
Academic/ Employment	13(93)	6(67)	7(87)	26(84)	12(92)	7(70)	19(83)
Non- working life	9(64)	9(100)	6(75)	24(77)	9(69)	9(90)	18(78)
Total	14(47)	9(27)	8(26)	30	13(56)	10(43)	23

As Table 6.5. shows, local respondents , like parents, tended to be less receptive and sympathetic to the value of leisure education, in its broadest sense, than the non-parents and 'progressive' professionals at WHEC, for whom this constituted an important area of educational development and reform in schools.

For those expressing a traditional perspective of schooling, the notion of 'education for leisure' was interpreted as a training process in work-related skills and attitudes. Leisure activities and interests were regarded as 'frills', supplementary to a working lifestyle and to the main task of schooling. For example, the idea of sport as a means of training in obedience and discipline featured in this local respondent's notion of leisure education in an ideal school:

61R: "I'd have 'em hanging from the ceilings with ropes, just like we used to do when I was at school. They used to drill you right. And you couldn't let go, 'cos you'd just burn your hands sliding down, so you had to keep holding yourself up, and you're up the rope for about half an hour - in fact the whole period. Recreation (would be) fifteen minutes in the morning and fifteen minutes in the afternoon after lunch."

The overall objective of education for leisure was seen as the learning of technical skills, discipline and the constructive use of non-work time. Education for leisure in schools was understood as separate subjects in the curriculum (e.g., music, art, drama, physical education), the skills of which are taught by teachers qualified in that subject.

Although all the WHEC teachers interviewed foresaw the need for a re-orientation of the traditional view of school education from an emphasis on an academic-oriented curriculum to one which recognised

the educational value of leisure, the approaches recommended varied. Their suggestions differed according to the degree to which they believed that the present educational order should be maintained or re-defined. Those teachers who supported the existing organisation of schooling recommended that leisure education might best be achieved through the proliferation of leisure options in the curriculum and should aim to develop creativity within pupils:

17S: "I'd like to see more courses to educate people for leisure time because I don't think that is really done enough."

Q: "How do you see that being done?"

17S: "Just introducing as many courses for leisure activities for kids as they can. I mean, there's some - there's drama...there's music, but not everybody wants to do these, people have got to be educated to use their time profitably, use their time in a fulfilling sort of way. And although I think there's a lot of teachers trying to do that in their own time, I don't know that enough emphasis is put on it in the curriculum. When children are being told that in the 1990's you might not be working five days a week, you will therefore have to find ways of filling up the other four days a week. Are you just going to sit and watch telly all the time? What are you going to do with that time? That's a question that's going to have to be asked more and more often in the future."

However, the introduction of leisure activities as part of the formal school curriculum and informal programme of activities offered at WHEC highlighted contradictions between 'school' and 'leisure' on both ideological and technical grounds. In ideological terms, contradictions were apparent in the community's experiences and views about schools and their ideas and understanding of leisure. The desire for a spatial separation between school/work and leisure was expressed by two local respondents who spent their working day at WHEC, one as a school pupil, the other as a manual worker:

10LRA: "If you're putting up a thing (WHEC) to suit somebody, and just say if you've spent six and a half hours in school there - well, hell,

I won't. I'm there all day, who wants to come back here at night? I wouldnae! When I walk out here at 3.30, that's it... I don't want to see it 'til next morning."

12LRS: "That's like a bus driver going for a bus run after he's finished his work, isn't it... As soon as I get out of this place, I forget about what went on, what WHEC is."

Spatial separation was also a factor that characterised this local parent's understanding of education and leisure:

11LR: "Well, I think they should've built the school separate, y'know what I mean? Two separate things - the school and the recreation thing."

Q: "Why's that?"

11LR: "Well, it would differentiate the school from recreation into two separate blocks instead of having 'em together... There's too much just in one building. I mean, a school's a school -for learning, y'know."

This fifth year student had attended evening classes occasionally at WHEC as a back-up to school work that she had missed. However, the idea of returning to school for educational activities in her spare time was opposed to her understanding of leisure as an enjoyable experience and an antipathy to work:

10LRB: "I dinnae like school as it is. I wouldnae like to spend a whole evening here as well. I come along and sit in the café in the evening, that's all, and only if there's really nothing to do at all. If I'm bored sitting in the house with my family, then I'll come and sit in the café for a wee while."

This conception of leisure as involving choice and being a pleasurable experience unrelated to work was confirmed by another local resident whose participation in evening classes was due to just those qualities:

5LR: "Oh yes, I really do (enjoy it). It's not compulsory or anything, and I'm not studying for something related to my work, it's purely for myself."

Another local resident expressed some of the attitudinal constraints on having a school-base for community leisure activities. She had initially enjoyed taking part in WHEC's pottery classes, but had found the change-over to a teacher with a child-oriented 'school' approach to learning a barrier to her continued participation:

2LR: "That first eighteen months it was a very matey kinda atmosphere, a very informal atmosphere. Super teacher who was there if we needed him, and we enjoyed it. But as soon as it went over to this kinda school system...I gave it up."

For this respondent, the problem was one of antagonistic school-leisure approaches. Others perceived problems of a more technical nature in operating in a school institution. For example, another local respondent had found that the complex and formal organisation of WHEC inhibited the ability for community activities to be organised cheaply and spontaneously. A local community centre's mode of operation was seen to be more flexible:

4LR: "If you've got a community centre you can run various fund-raising efforts, smaller things, not so organised...not so rigorously controlled by the officials, see, to put on fund-raising efforts when you've got to pay so many staff and kitchen staff, and you can't supply your own staff. It should be more open to the community to that extent... You can't just pop over and because it's empty use the gym, or use the squash courts, or run a dance every week if you want to, or have your own bar, run Mums and Toddlers groups and the crèche your way. y'know what I mean? Things we can do with our own centres which we can manage by ourselves, that can be done by ourselves."

However, despite the constraints imposed by the local respondents traditional attitudes to education and leisure, there were indications of attempts to move towards the development of a closer relationship between school education and community education amongst the 'progressive' professionals working in the educational environment of WHEC. This was expressed in the idea of 'education through leisure'.

In the light of socio-economic changes in wider society - such as recent technological advances and the prospect of more time away from full employment in the future with the decline, or absence, of employment and the structures it provides in people's lives - the conception of leisure as a separate quantity of time allocated voluntarily was seen to lose its meaning, and the integration of work and leisure was taken as an increasingly necessary development. Education was seen as the mechanism through which attitudinal changes and personal adjustment could be achieved. The blurring of the distinction between work and leisure would be mediated through the education process which could serve to re-orient attitudes and facilitate adjustment to social change:

26LG: "We're going to have to have an educational system which disassociates work from worth, right. Because if it's a given that no everyone will go to work, then we have got to put one's individual creative pursuits, whether it be in work or in leisure (to the fore)... There should be no stigma to not being in what we used to call gainful employment - earning money. There is as much worth then in the new ethos attached to any creative pursuit."

In this context, one teacher expressed the view that education should transfer from being knowledge-based to being 'concept-based', developing attitudes and skills to help people adapt and survive in a changing society:

16S: "I mean, I think to teach people in terms of learning a lot of basic facts...that you'll have to learn for the sake of learning is a waste of education which should be getting more into ways of applying knowledge, being able to find out something if you need to find it out. In other words, developing skills rather than teaching facts."

Also expressed was the need for school education to re-orient its focus from academic subjects and training for a life centred around employment towards a more flexible system and concept of education in

which the learning process not only develops technical and personal skills, but is also an enjoyable recreational experience. Hence, the idea of leisure education was not interpreted as a separate subject or activity, but was regarded as a valuable learning medium:

20S: "...a movement away from, just thinking about rational and intellectual education, into using music, grammar, and art as a means of self-expression...That's even more than just leisure. That's why I jump away from the 'just leisure and recreation'...what I'm not saying is that there still isn't a need for very hard study to take place, but I don't think the school is necessarily the place for that."

22LG: "...education has to be lively and exciting. Once you start using the community in a wide variety of senses, as an opportunity, for experience and as a learning tool, it can become that much more lively and interesting. The chalk and talk kind of situation has to be squeezed out. I mean, it has a place, sure, but there has to be far more learning and less talking at...more participation in an experience and learning through that. Learning starting off where the person is."

So, in these terms, the development of an approach based on the idea of 'education through leisure' was seen among the 'progressive' professionals as an important element in the revaluation of school education towards the ideas engendered in community education. From this perspective, a Community Education official stressed the importance of 'social education' which takes place informally through leisure experiences and in a diversity of situations and which is generally neglected in the formal organisation of schooling:

22LG: "You know education isn't just about courses - obviously courses form a large part of education, but there's a lot of informal learning which can't be defined in terms of courses, and goes on through activities. It's social education, it's skills about people, about living, about self-discovery and things like that, which no course can teach. If all your education's organised through courses, you're going to miss out something. It's informal stuff - the sort of education you get from people enjoying themselves together."

As noted in Chapter 2.3., the notions of 'education through leisure' and 'learning through participation' are key concepts in the ideology of holistic education where education, work, leisure are seen as processes intricately bound up in the network of economic and social relations. The whole community is viewed as a teaching/learning complex in which work and leisure are elements in its total educational pattern.

The traditional perspective of education and schooling, on the other hand, separates these elements into the purely educational and the purely recreational. An official from the Leisure Services Department attempted to explain the inter-relation and divisions between the local authority service provision of Leisure and Community Education:

25LG: "Community Education is concerned with the educational aspects of the enrichment of life in the community, so Education has to be given prominence in that. Perhaps Leisure shares some of that, but it is also concerned with the purely recreative where the end objective is not necessarily educational - although undeniably education might take place - but is perhaps recreational in the sense of fun and enjoyment. But we (Leisure Services Dept.) are not pursuing it (leisure) in order to educate that person, but to fulfill their needs in terms of opportunities for enjoyment as part of the whole range of quality of life. So we have a mutual interest, therefore."

This rather confused statement indicates the technical constraints that act upon the WHEC professionals' attempts to implement community education's ideals of moving towards a greater integration between education and leisure in the community while working within a school-based educational order in which the prevailing ideology and forms are geared towards their separation as different services and subjects. In this anomalous situation, attempts to integrate the provision of educational and recreational services are often denigrated as a recipe for administrative confusion. The development

of community education in WHEC, for example, is limited by the priority given to the examination-centred curriculum in the established system of secondary schooling. Examinations are seen as an inappropriate form of assessment for the expressive qualities developed through community/leisure education. In addition, there is the ideological constraint of a local community which lays greater value on the school's traditional focus on training in academic skills and work-related disciplines.

However, this is not to say that the concept of education through leisure and moves towards the integration of education, work, and leisure were not in evidence outside the school. Indications of such developments were apparent within the Wester Hailes community and were expressed in relation to local respondents' views about the community school and about their own leisure time. These will be discussed later in section 6.4.2.

6.3. LEISURE AND COMMUNITY

In terms of recreation and sport, the community of Wester Hailes was seen by WHEC's Centre Manager as a 'market' of consumers to be 'tapped':

15S: "What we strive to do is introduce or create new clubs or activities for people, and that's what we must do in our formative years is to tap that market...because we've a big role to play there in finding out what people want and supplying it, and meaningfully sustaining it, not just doing it as a pure exercise."

As this statement indicates, in its role as a community recreational facility, WHEC aims not only to meet the needs of the local

population, but also to create a demand for its programme of activities, both educational and recreational. In this section, these aims are critically examined in terms of the contradiction between WHEC's programme of provision and the local community's leisure needs and lifestyles.

The joint provision of a range of new sports and recreational facilities in WHEC, most notably the spectacular 'leisure pool', initially helped to attract local adults into the Centre. The recreational aspects of WHEC were accepted with much greater alacrity by local people than the different style of secondary schooling or the uptake of formal adult educational opportunities in daytime school classes and evening sessions.

As noted earlier in Chapter 5.4.3. strong pre-conceptions were found concerning the impact of WHEC on different groups in the community. Table 6.6. reveals this very partial 'image' of WHEC as a facility oriented towards children and those with 'sporty' interests.

All the groups of respondents noted in varying degrees the failure of WHEC to reach a range of adult client groups, especially the old, men and those alienated from the education system.

TABLE 6.6.: RESPONDENT GROUPS AND PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL GROUPS AFFECTED MOST/LEAST BY WHEC

<u>Groups in the Community:</u>	<u>Respondents Groups</u>			
	Local Residents	WHEC Staff	Local Government	Total
Nos (%) of respondents				
<u>A. Affected Most</u>				
Pupils/Kids	10(71)	6(67)	3(50)	19(65)
Sports/				
Special interest	2(14)	4(44)	4(66)	10(34)
Teenagers/youngsters	3(21)	2(22)	-	5(17)
Mothers with				
children	2(14)	1(11)	-	3(10)
'The Community'	-	2(22)	1(17)	3(10)
Educationally				
oriented	-	1(11)	2(33)	3(10)
Parents	1(7)	-	1(17)	2(7)
Employees	2(14)	-	-	2(7)
<u>B. Affected Least</u>				
Old People	9(64)	3(33)	2(33)	14(48)
Men	1(7)	5(55)	1(17)	7(24)
Educationally				
alienated	1(7)	-	4(68)	5(17)
Workers	1(7)	1(11)	1(17)	3(10)
Everybody	2(14)	-	1(17)	3(10)
Single Persons	2(14)	-	-	2(7)
Adults	-	1(11)	-	1(3)
Under 11's	-	1(11)	-	1(3)
Total	14(48)	9(31)	6(21)	29

The analysis of local respondents' perceptions of WHEC as a community leisure facility in Chapter 5.4 and Table 5.8 showed that attitudes were predominantly negative: 71% of those interviewed regarded its image as unattractive to local people in their spare time. This finding is supported by Table 6.7 which shows that the most significant constraint on wider local involvement in WHEC's activities

and affairs was regarded by all groups as the negative image of WHEC in the community. These features of the data on leisure and the community indicate a mis-match between WHEC's educational and formal, group style of leisure provision and the conception of leisure expressed by local respondents.

<u>TABLE 6.7.:</u> RESPONDENT GROUP AND PERCEPTIONS OF NON-INVOLVEMENT IN WHEC.				
<u>Reasons for Non-involvement in WHEC:</u>	Local Residents	<u>Respondent Group</u> WHEC Staff	Local Govt.	Total
	Nos (%) of respondents			
Image	8(57)	5(55)	7(100)	20(67)
Facilities/Programme	6(43)	3(22)	2(29)	11(37)
Inconvenience	6(43)	4(44)	1(14)	11(37)
Relationships	2(14)	3(33)	2(29)	7(23)
Don't Know	2(14)	-	-	2 (7)
Total	14(47)	9(30)	7(23)	30

The dominant image of WHEC as a school/sports centre and, therefore, as a place for children and sporty people (Table 6.6.), had little in common with the culture of leisure in the local community. Thus, as this local WHEC employee commented, the Centre had made little impact on the lives of most local people:

12LRS: "The 'Sentinel' tells everyone what's happening at WHEC. I mean you can take a horse to water, but y' cannae make him drink it. If this place (WHEC) had never been built, it wouldn't have mattered to a load of people up there."

For nearly half the local residents interviewed the lack of a licensed bar or a licensed social club constituted a major shortcoming in the range of recreational facilities provided in WHEC. A bar was seen to offer a potential common social focus for a cross-section of people

and age groups in Wester Hailes, and a meeting place for all users of WHEC's facilities:

9LR: "If they want people like me to come up there - what I'm going to do a project on I don't know - but the nearest pub is one and a half miles away. Put a bar in the place, and make it a place where once you've finished your thing you can have a drink in the bar and discuss it, and possibly meet other people from other classes, and then you'll have a mutual interest, and then you'll know what people are thinking."

10LRB: "It would be a lot more friendly (with a bar). There'd be more people around to be friendly with. If there's only one or two people, they probably wouldn't be friendly with you anyway."

4LR: "I think it would draw them in even better if there was a bar. And let's get away from this old-fashioned idea - why not take the kids when you're having a pint and an enjoyable night?... Why should a family be segregated into sections because of age if you wanta be out together?"

For other local respondents, the lack of interest in WHEC as a leisure facility could not be attributed to a particular deficiency in its facilities or programme. More generally, WHEC's style of provision was seen as incongruous with, or superfluous to, an established work-leisure pattern, or culture:

11LRS: "Y'see, I'm not really interested in doing anything there. Certainly for people who are interested there's plenty for people to do - evening classes, yoga and things like that - but I'm not really interested in those things... I just couldn't be bothered doing them. I've got too many things to do really."

Similarly, this local father had no interest in WHEC's recreational programme or facilities, or anything beyond his work, family and football game once a week. His responses about WHEC as a leisure facility were mainly:

1LR: "I cannae be bothered..."
"It doesnae interest me..."
"I don't have the time..."
"I'm no very good at things like that..."

The WHEC-community cultural mis-match, seen in this general lack of interest in WHEC's style of leisure provision, was often related to the perception of its programme as oriented towards children and sporty people (Table 6.6.A.), and towards educational and organised, group recreation. The data collected on the use of leisure time revealed that 93% of the local people interviewed preferred informal and consumer-oriented group recreation (e.g., visiting friends, going to the pub) and 64% enjoyed domestic-based leisure and solitary pastimes. This feature of the data clarifies the mis-match perceived between WHEC's style of recreation and the local working-class leisure culture.

In the planning and policy-making background to the provision of WHEC, the providers' approach to, and conception of, leisure and recreation was expressed in terms of creative activities and 'getting together with others'. The Principal of WHEC reacted against the planners' active view of leisure, stressing the equal value of individual/solitary leisure:

20S: "...we mustn't get into the habit of thinking that everybody has to do recreation along with other people. One can recreate in solitude, and a lot of people might, like me, want to do that. But there is an assumption amongst professionals that people aren't doing that unless they're doing it together. Y'know, there are people out there who will never get together and they're quite happy like that. "

The WHEC pupils, who spent some of their spare time at the Centre, did not seriously consider taking part in WHEC's formal, organised, group programme of education and recreation. They preferred the more casual, sociable and consumer-oriented atmosphere of the cafés and discos. When WHEC first opened, the Centre's facilities and programme were new and exciting to them. However, the attraction of WHEC as somewhere to

go in the evenings and weekends gradually died away with the perceived repetitiveness of its programme and just sitting in the café:

10LRB: "It's just nothing happens. Every night it's the same thing. People just sit in the café and the juke box plays and that's it. Just nothing."

10LRC: "...after coming down here for a wee while it was just the same...I don't see that there's anything much to do except for go up and sit in the café, and apart from the discos there's nothing else - unless you wantae go to evening classes, and I don't fancy evening classes!"

The pupils' preference for spending their free time with neighbourhood friends and at their local Community Centre or Youth Club reflected again the closer cultural identity with the smaller community areas and its local -based facilities than with the WHEC complex and the Wester Hailes area as a whole. For example, one of the pupils explained his preference for the people in the Calders area and its local Community Centre in terms of stronger cultural links:

10LRA: "Well, I mean, y'ken, the people here (WHEC) sort of, but like at the Calders Centre y'ken them better, so y'can mix wi'em better, and talk wi'em better and things like that."

Q: "How come you know them better? Do you see them more than people at WHEC?"

10LRA: "Aye, 'cos they live in my area."

Q: "Do you feel you don't know the people here so well?"

10LRA: "Aye, I know 'em like. I know a lot of people here, but I just cannae talk to 'em as I can talk to people living in my own area."

The tendency for solidarity within, and rivalry between, the smaller community areas proved to be an early management problem for WHEC owing to its attempt to integrate groups in the community: The youngsters tended to cause trouble within the Centre by being 'cheeky' and getting into fights with other local groups. WHEC sought to not

only to identify with, and be open to, the whole catchment of Wester Hailes, but also all the young people in the scheme from the different community areas. Indeed, the predominance of young people and 'bad behaviour' within the Centre was a feature that, for 57% of the local adult respondents, had given WHEC an unpopular image as a leisure facility. For example, these two local women preferred a quieter and more commercial-style surroundings for informal leisure activities, such as meeting a friend for coffee:

5LR: "I wouldn't come up here just to have cup of coffee in the canteen. It's too noisy and there's kids running about. It does put me off that, the noise of them."

2LR: "I'd rather go to the Shopping Centre - the cafeteria to me, however hard they try to tart it up, snacks to me of institutions, and that puts me off! Plus all these tough, screaming yobs hanging around the place. No, I don't see myself, even if I was in the area a lot, using it as a drop-in - somewhere to go for a chat with a friend."

In the initial planning stages of WHEC's development, it was envisaged that the Centre would serve as an informal meeting-place or somewhere to 'drop -in'. However, local adult respondents tended to use WHEC on a purely instrumental basis which reflects its local image as a place of activity and organisation. Thus, as Table 6.8. indicates, the most frequent use of WHEC was for sports activities. Of those sports mentioned, swimming accounted for 33% of responses, i.e., one of the most informal, individual and consumer-oriented forms of activity offered in WHEC. In Table 6.8., 'informal recreation' refers to sitting in the café and going to discos, activities pursued mainly by the WHEC pupils.

TABLE 6.8.: PURPOSES OF LOCAL RESPONDENTS' VISITS TO WHEC	
<u>Purpose of visit:</u>	No.(%) of respondents
Sports	11 (79)
Community	5 (36)
Education	4 (29)
Informal recreation	4 (29)
School Business	3 (21)
Total	14

Variations in attitudes to WHEC as a leisure facility were related to respondents' wider perception of their local community environment and their satisfaction with the area as a place to live. This was suggested earlier in Chapter 5.4. and is confirmed by Table 6.9.

TABLE 6.9.: ATTITUDE TO LIVING IN WESTER HAILES AND PERCEPTION OF WHEC AS A COMMUNITY LEISURE FACILITY			
<u>Attitude to WHEC:</u>	<u>Attitude to Wester Hailes</u>		
	Like it	Dislike it	Total
	Nos (%) of respondents		
<u>Negative Views of WHEC:</u>			
Facilities/Programme	5(71)	5(71)	10(71)
Image	2(28)	5(71)	7(50)
<u>Positive Views of WHEC:</u>			
Facilities/Programme	4(57)	-	4(57)
Image	1(14)	2(28)	3(21)
Total	7(50)	7(50)	14

All the positive responses concerning WHEC's programme and facilities were given by individuals who liked living in Wester Hailes, and amongst this group only 58% of responses were critical of WHEC as a leisure facility, compared to 83% from those who disliked living in

the area. However, attitudes to WHEC as a leisure facility were not found to be strongly influenced by respondents' frequency of use or by degree of involvement in the local community.

The relationship between participation in local group activities and perceptions of the community and provisions within it, is clearly illustrated by this local respondent's changing attitude to Wester Hailes during the eight years she had lived there. In the early years of residence, she had been involved in a number of local groups where she would meet other people and go out for a drink with them after their meetings:

3IR: "...but then I lost my interest in Wester Hailes, so I just gave up."

Q: "Why did you lose interest in Wester Hailes? You were interested when you first came here."

3IR: "Yes, I was... There was no vandalism at all. There was no wrecks. I used to be able to put my washing out in the drying areas, which I haven't done now for six years because it gets pinched. There was nothing like that before, because when we first came here it was all just babies, but now there's all sorts of people coming in from Sighthill and Broomhouse, and y'know. I don't know whether it's because my attitude to this place has changed... Some days I have great ambitions, y' know. I'll do this and I'll do that, but it's just I feel lethargic - can't be bothered to do anything... It's just too easy to sit on my arse, and shut the world out."

This quotation indicates the way in which attitudes to Wester Hailes and WHEC were found to be closely linked to participation in education/leisure within that community. It lends support to the claim by proponents of holistic education that participation encourages greater social integration and, thus, has implications for WHEC's potential role in community development and adjustment to wider social change.

The suggestion that there is a mismatch between WHEC's recreational programme and the recreational aspirations of its local community was given further support by an analysis of the motives behind leisure. Table 6.10. and Table 6.11. relate the reasons that individuals reported for their participation in leisure pursuits and the type of leisure activities undertaken.

TABLE 6.10.: RESPONDENT GROUPS AND LEISURE MOTIVATION FACTORS.			
<u>Leisure</u> <u>Motivation</u> <u>Factors:</u>	<u>Respondent Groups</u>		Total
	Local Residents	WHEC Staff	
Nos (%) of respondents			
Sociability	10(71)	7(78)	17(74)
Compensation	7(50)	9(100)	16(70)
Secondary Benefit	8(57)	7(78)	15(65)
Intrinsic Value	8(57)	4(44)	12(52)
Obligation	2(14)	3(27)	5(22)
Convenience	4(29)	-	4(17)
Total	14(61)	9(39)	23

TABLE 6.11.: LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND MOTIVATION FACTORS					
<u>Leisure Motivation Factors</u>	<u>Leisure Activities</u>				Total
	Informal Group	Home/ Solitary	Formal Group	Local Activities	
Nos (%) of respondents					
Sociability	16(73)	1(7)	5(50)	-	17(74)
Compensation	10(45)	10(67)	2(20)	-	16(70)
Secondary Benefit	8(36)	3(20)	8(80)	1(33)	15(65)
Intrinsic Value	4(18)	7(47)	2(20)	3(100)	12(52)
Obligation	3(14)	2(13)	5(10)	-	5(21)
Convenience	2(9)	1(7)	1(10)	-	4(17)
Total	22(96)	15(65)	10(43)	3(13)	23

In Table 6.10. it is revealed that sociability - the opportunity to be with or meet others in a social/leisure context - is the primary motive dominating the leisure lifestyles of local residents outside

motive dominating the leisure lifestyles of local residents outside the home. For example, the use of leisure time by the pupils at WHEC was strongly determined by the opportunity to be with members of their peer group, or 'pals', rather than by the activities themselves. Local respondents, especially women, often expressed the need for accompaniment - someone to 'chum' them - in leisure pursuits outside the home. As noted earlier in relation to the issue of providing a bar in WHEC, for many of the local people interviewed the prime motive behind informal group recreation was seen as the opportunity to be with, visit, or meet other people, local friends or family. In this way, the need for WHEC to provide a meeting place for all the different groups of people living in the Wester Hailes scheme was viewed as important by this local respondent:

3LR: "...it's for all ranges of people, y'know, just for the community. For single parents, for teenagers, for old people, ordinary married couples... For all varieties of the community getting together... I suppose their (WHEC's) aim is trying to get people to come and use the facilities there, but really it should be just to meet people - to come out and meet people."

For the professional staff at WHEC, however, who were just as motivated by the sociable aspects of leisure, there was a much stronger identity with the compensatory role of leisure, perhaps reflecting their high level of work commitments. The secondary, or 'spin off', benefits that participation in certain leisure pursuits brought (e.g., keeping fit, individuality, independence) were rated as important as 'sociability' in leisure. Ironically, as Table 6.11. indicates, the leisure pursuits that are associated with WHEC in the minds of local residents (i.e., organised or formal group activities) related most strongly to the secondary benefits of leisure. The

evidence is only tentative, but it adds substance to the argument that the conception of leisure signified by WHEC's style and form of provision is contradictory to the leisure culture of the local working-class people, a point that has been indicated by many other aspects of the interview data.

A further contrast that exists between the leisure motivation factors reported by local residents and WHEC professionals lies in the greater incentive attributed to the 'convenience' of a leisure pursuit by local respondents (Table 6.10.). In this way, the presence of, or ease of access to, certain leisure opportunities is more likely to affect the uptake of those activities. For example, the presence of WHEC's facilities and programme in Wester Hailes was the primary motivation underlying this local woman's attendance at evening classes:

2LR: "I'd always had a fancy for pottery, but I wasn't so keen that I was prepared to go out of my way to...trail away into town to do it. And when a friend and I heard that WHEC was going to have the facilities and they'd be having this sorta informal session, we reckoned we'd go along for a couple of weeks and see what it was like."

Indeed, all local respondents gave reasons of convenience for their use of WHEC's facilities, based on difficulties of access to recreational facilities elsewhere in the city owing to reliance on public transport. All the respondents who used WHEC had taken up new leisure activities, or had renewed or expanded previous interests, because of the presence of WHEC in the locality. However, consistency in these activities/interests was often not in evidence. Only three out of the fourteen local respondents interviewed used WHEC on a regular basis.

The leisure, or cultural, differences between school and community in Wester Hailes were illustrated further when, as part of the survey of different attitudes to leisure, the WHEC professionals and local residents were asked about their past, present and future (expected) participation in WHEC-style activities. The relationship between these type of activities and WHEC itself was not made explicit by the interviewer. Four categories of WHEC-style activities were identified:

- A. Formal Recreational, e.g., joining a club, society or organisation concerned with something you're interested in.
- B. Informal Educational, e.g., getting together with other people to find out more about something you're interested in.
- C. Local Activities, e.g., helping out with activities in the local area or in the local schools.
- D. Formal Educational, e.g., working towards a qualification at daytime or evening classes.

By means of these four categories, it was hoped to identify whether, and to what extent, different individuals and groups shared common aspirations and patterns of participation in WHEC-style activities. This issue is of central concern to the planning and implementation of education as leisure in community schools, especially in a working class area, where, traditionally, notions of education, work and leisure are culturally counterposed.

When these responses were analysed in terms of groups of respondents (Table 6.12.), both groups were shown to be consistent in past / present / future participation patterns and in the similar decline in participation (actual and expected) in WHEC-style activities over

time. The decline in participation in WHEC style activities over time seemed to be related to the changing pattern of work and leisure during successive stages of the life cycle. For example, none of the WHEC pupils expected to go to WHEC in the evenings once they had left school and had taken up employment because of the expected change in their school/work friendship patterns:

10LRC: "I won't come here (WHEC) next year, 'cos I'm starting working. I mean I might go out with my friends at work or something during the week. But I wouldnae come up as much as I do now...because my friends at school y'see, they come up at night time, so you're going to tag along as well."

Q: "Do you think your friends will stop coming as well when they leave school?"

10LRC: "Oh, I think so... I'll probably just go out with my pals at work or something. If I've got a boyfriend, I'll see him, or my girlfriend up the stairs. I'll just sorta pal wi'her. So I don't think I'll be up here as much."

TABLE 6.12.: PARTICIPATION IN WHEC STYLE ACTIVITIES OVER TIME BY RESPONDENT GROUPS.			
<u>Timescale</u>	<u>Respondent Groups</u>		Total
	Local Residents	WHEC Professionals	
	Nos (%) of respondents		
Past	14(100)	9(100)	23(100)
Present	12(86)	8(89)	20(87)
Future	9(64)	5(55)	14(61)
Total	14(61)	9(39)	23

Interviews with working respondents in full-time employment often revealed that past participation in leisure pursuits had been curtailed because of the time constraints of work and the responsibilities of a home and family; leisure became more

'privatised' and home-based. For example, this local father had been an active member of a Tenants Association and an Old Time Dance Club in the past:

Q: "Why did you give it up?"

6LR: "Well, I had to go to m'work... I mean y'just lose touch with things like that y'know when you get married and that and you're doing other things, Y'know, you're working to get a house together and that. There's other things that I'd like to take up again, but it's just - there's no way I could do it."

Greater insight was gained in analysing the interview data related to this question by examining the different interpretations of the work-leisure relationship by respondent groups than by examining the participation rates of respondent groups. The data suggested that although the two groups of respondents shared the same set of leisure 'symbols' (e.g., pub, clubs, sport), these were not necessarily interpreted in the same way. For example, although local residents and WHEC professionals showed equal interest in participation in recreational activities of a formal kind (Table 6.13.), the nature of the club/organisation joined and the aim of membership differed significantly between the two groups.

Local respondents favoured the style of formal association of a social club which has sociability as the 'raison d'etre'. Respondents among the WHEC professionals, on the other hand, tended to prefer membership of clubs where this related to specific interests (e.g., sports clubs, musical/theatre groups, teachers associations, political groups), but seldom had sociability as their primary purpose. This suggests a cultural difference between local people's and professionals' formal recreational needs and lifestyles.

TABLE 6.13.: PARTICIPATION IN WHEC-STYLE ACTIVITIES OVER TIME BY RESPONDENT GROUPS

<u>WHEC-style Leisure Activities:</u>	<u>PAST</u>		<u>PRESENT</u>		<u>FUTURE</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>	
	Local Rsdts	WHEC Profs	Local Rsdts	WHEC Profs	Local Rsdts	WHEC Profs	Local Rsdts	WHEC Profs
Formal Recreational	12(86)	9(100)	8(67)	4(50)	2(22)	3(60)	14(100)	9(100)
Informal Educational	9(64)	8(89)	4(33)	6(75)	6(67)	3(60)	11(78)	9(100)
Local Activities	4(28)	6(67)	10(83)	4(50)	3(33)	3(60)	11(78)	8(89)
Formal Educational	5(36)	2(22)	2(17)	-	3(33)	2(40)	9(64)	2(22)
Totals	14(100)	9(100)	12(86)	8(89)	9(64)	5(55)	14	9

It supports the findings of the previous analysis of the leisure motivation factors of local residents and WHEC professionals that sociability was the principal motivation underlying local people's idea of leisure. It is not implied that WHEC professionals are not equally as concerned about the sociable aspects of leisure, but they do portray a leisure culture which is founded upon a more diverse array of motivations (e.g., specific work-leisure interests, 'spin-off' benefits, compensation from work) compared to those apparent amongst the local residents.

A further cultural contrast in the relationship between work and leisure was shown in connection with respondents' motives in participating in 'educational' activities in their spare time. The highest level of participation in formal educational activities (evening classes) was shown by local respondents. From their

standpoint, taking part in educational activities in leisure time was closely linked to the pursuit of employment, promotion and socio-economic advancement. For example, one local respondent who worked in a design office had joined a Higher Art evening class at WHEC in order to develop a talent discovered, but not pursued, at school and to gain a further educational qualification that would enhance her future career prospects. For the local respondents, participation in formal educational activities in their spare time was perceived as an extension of their schooling.

For professionals in the community school, the educational link between work and leisure was also apparent as an aspect of career development. Yet, it was not focused on the acquisition of additional educational qualifications, since these had been completed at college or university, but was manifest in their participation in community activities in their spare time as a means of acquiring more practical experience and learning skills needed in their 'community' profession.

Summary

In this section it has been suggested that a key factor in the local leisure culture of the Wester Hailes community is the need to associate with other people / friends in an informal leisure context, rather than an interest in specific leisure activities. This indicates the conflict between the education-centred notion of leisure as found within the concept of a 'community of interests' and the work-centred notion of leisure as expressed in the privatised concept of 'community' expressed among many local respondents. In the latter

sense, in many ways leisure is seen as the antithesis of work, i.e., voluntary, chosen, informal sociability. Yet, WHEC's present style of provision, with its emphasis on education, formal activities and organised groups, fails to meet the local recreational need for an informal meeting place, usually perceived by local people in the familiar form of a social club or bar. The style of provision at WHEC tends to represent the providers' and the professional educators' view of leisure, with an emphasis on the educational 'spin-off' benefits of 'creative' leisure pursuits and participation in organised group activities. In this sense, the leisure dimension of the community school plays a part in transmitting and reproducing cultural capital, since WHEC's definition of leisure is regarded as culturally valid and worthy of perpetuating, while the local individualistic and consumer-oriented leisure culture is thought to be in need of change.

6.4. THE INTERACTION OF LEISURE, EDUCATION, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

Historically, the school and its local community have existed as separate worlds except through the compulsory attendance of local children. The community school concept is founded upon the expansion and integration of school and community, and, thus, the dissolution of the barriers that have traditionally existed between these two contrasting domains of interest and activity. Through integrating the cultural processes of leisure and education in both a school and a community context, community education aims to penetrate these divisions and to establish a relationship between school and community. The previous sections in this Chapter examined the areas of

conflict and constraint between the practical ideologies of education, leisure, school and community by groups within the educational environment of WHEC. In this section the grounds for the development of a school-community relationship by the community school are examined through an analysis of the interaction between education, work and leisure within WHEC's educational environment as revealed by the interview survey.

The first part of this section is an examination of the basis for a relationship between school and community, as expressed in the various conceptions of a community school, and the way in which this is developed through educational and social/recreational links. In the following sections, the interaction of education and leisure are further examined through a consideration of the indications of work - leisure integration within the local community itself. The notion of 'role flexibility' is introduced and analysed as an aspect of the new cultural process through which the integration of education-work-leisure might be developed by community education.

6.4.1. The Education-Leisure Link Between School and Community

When respondents were asked what they considered to be the most important features of a community school (see Table 6.1.), all the groups agreed on the importance of a closer relationship between the school and its local community because of the way this improved both the local environment (e.g., greater access to facilities) and the relationships between home-school, teacher-pupil, adult-child and

adult-adult. These concepts of a community school (i.e., the relationship between school and community) are analysed in terms of the development of the educational and the social/leisure dimensions of the community school's programme.

An analysis of all the respondents' conceptions of a community school revealed that the areas of education/leisure interaction between school and community could be classified in terms of three key processes:

- i) Greater access to educational and recreational opportunities by opening up the school to all ages in the community.
- ii) The development of dialogue in the learning process and between it and the social/leisure needs of the community.
- iii) The attitudinal change brought about by greater personal interaction between members of the school and the local community.

i) Access

The interface between school and community in terms of 'access' was understood by the professional respondents in terms of a broad educational perspective by virtue of their occupational relation to WHEC. For local residents, a tacit understanding of their educational relationship with the community school was expressed in more narrow and conventional terms, such as the inclusion of all age groups in the school's programme.

The Principal of WHEC viewed the aim of a community school as moving towards the local school as a key access point for educational

opportunities and services that is linked into a wider regional/national network of recurrent educational provision:

Q: "What would you say the aims and purposes (of a community school) are?"

20S: "Well...to try to come to terms with whatever one particular community is and provide some kind of total educational framework for people to dip into. Now, that would include things like leisure activities, and, for instance, political education and school education. Now, no community school could cover all the needs of a community, so it must also be looking beyond the community to help people within the community to further their specialised educational needs elsewhere."

The community school was also regarded by many of the professionals interviewed as a key point of access for ordinary people into the formal system of education in terms of breaking down the cultural distance between professional and lay worlds through the 'demystification' of education and the democratization and deformatization of relationships between school and community:

21LG: "I think community schools should allow access to facilities, access to teachers in a human way, and demystification. It should be access to teachers... Removal of distance and demystification of the curriculum as something that people can't even comment upon... I think there's access to decision-making and real access to management - it's got to be an education programme over a period through the lower levels types of access. Removing fear, the whole bit, for people learning about the decisions they're actually involved in, so that they can participate realistically."

The professionals' idea of the important links between school and community were expressed in terms of long-term educational ideals. The local respondents, on the other hand, understood only the short-term implications of the community school experiment and interpreted the school's attempts to develop links with people in the local area in terms of their own ideas and past experiences of education and schooling. Thus, significant features of their relationship to WHEC

were perceived in terms of the community school's openness to participation by local people in the formal school classes and other activities and in the improved communication between parents and teachers:

8LR: "Well, it means it's for everyone in the community - everybody in the community can go to that school. They provide classes for them... and different things go on. You don't get that in comprehensive schools, do you? That's including all ages in the school, right from kiddies up to 70, 80, 90 if you want."

5LR: "I would say that adults can come in with the children, come and learn beside the children. I don't think that does any harm at all for the adult or the child... I suppose it's good that people are invited. I mean, it's no shut off to them. Billed as it is, everybody knows that they can come in at any time and it's not out of bounds to anybody."

1LR: "It seems to mean parents and things like that. Parents and teachers. It should be, y'know...be open to discuss things - various things like, y'know - how your children are getting on, and life. Y'know, just the general running of the school and if you've any problems you come up against."

An important and popular feature of a community school for the local respondents was the greater access to recreational facilities for everyone in the local area, especially young people, as well as people living outside the area.

6LR: "Yes, it's for the whole of the Wester Hailes area and outside as far as I can gather...for the facilities. I mean it's got facilities there for the handicapped kids and attendants will help with the handicapped when I've been up there during the day, like... It's crowded all the time, from when it opens in the morning to when it shuts at night."

However, it was found in section 6.3.that the predominantly youth-oriented notions of education and schooling held by local adult respondents has restricted their actual involvement in WHEC's programme, both educational and recreational . Thus, in much of the discussion about the significant features of the community school

concept, local people referred to the benefits of greater access and longer opening hours for children.

ii) Dialogue

Concomittant to the process of opening up the school to the community and increasing the extent of interaction between them is the development of an interchange of ideas/people/resources between the two worlds: the notion of 'dialogue', or feedback, between school and community. The interaction between school and community through the development of a social/leisure dialogue was a topic that initiated considerable discussion because it was seen not only as fundamental to the idea of a community school, but also as an area requiring greater attention if WHEC was to consider itself a real community school.

The ideal of WHEC developing dialogue as a form of accountability and reciprocal learning between school and community, teacher and student, was proposed by this local authority worker:

26LG: "An accountability to the community... The perceptions of the people living around that place should influence the milieu of the school. This would need the teachers to learn the art of listening; they need to learn that education is a dialogue and it's not a person that has something, giving it to somebody else. It's a dialogue... And then, if they did that, then the local community's perceptions would influence the whole school, and the local community would accept then that, yes, this was our school, and you could get them there, and get them to run a class."

In the first year of WHEC's operation, the development of a social dialogue between school and community had been attempted through the opening up of the Centre for educational and recreational use by the community in the hope that local people would come flocking in. This

initial approach to school-community dialogue was described by one of WHEC's teachers:

17S: "Getting the community into the school, opening it up, and persuading and telling people that that's what the place is for. It's your school you come in and you use it, and don't be put off by it, by the size of it, and the place is there for you. That's one of the problems that we're trying to get over here, and it's difficult."

This school/sports centre approach was widely recognised by WHEC staff as an inappropriate strategy in community development ; the adoption of an 'outreach' approach was regarded as an increasingly necessary part of WHEC's attempt to develop a dialogue between school and community:

18S: "I think it has to not just open its doors and wait for the folk to come in, I think it has to go out into the community. The people in the school...have to be involved in and interested in the community."

Q: "How do you think they should do that?"

18S: "We had kids working in the Community Workshop... We got to know an awful lot of groups that operate more generally in the area - YOP schemes, things like that ... The fact that they can come into the school and there's a face they recognise... Just to walk into the building where, you don't know anyone, and walk up to the cash desk and say 'I'm really interested in doing something; but I'm not really sure what.' And then being told 'That's it up there, dear. On you go.' Well, it's very difficult."

The notion of dialogue between school and community was also expressed by local residents. For example, for this local parent the community school provides a potential local base for the interchange of ideas and needs between local people and local agencies and groups with interests in that area, such as politicians and businesses:

9LR: "The local M.P. shouldn't need to sit in his house and hold meetings for his voters to come up and see him... That's where they should be, in the school, taking part in the community. Let the politicians see what's going on, and let the people see what's going on with the politicians, and you'll get a greater awareness of what peoples' needs are if you do this... Inviting businesses to come

along. Now there's an industrial estate up there. Children in this area are going to go across there to try to get a job. If they can see them when they're 14 - 15, they can get a better understanding of that kid's ability - know the basic skills of what a child will need. If they (WHEC) want to do it properly, they ought to make a proper job of getting these businesses in."

For most of the local respondents, the development of dialogue between school and community was understood in terms of the adoption of community service and outdoor education roles by the school so that the pupils would be educated about the outside community through assessing its needs, meeting people and making trips outside their local area. In this way, the social-leisure needs of the community would be an educational resource for the school.

Once more, local residents tended to understand the idea of a community school within the traditional ideology of schooling and, for the most part, confined their ideas of a social/leisure dialogue between school and community to its implications for the curriculum and school children.

iii) Attitudinal change

School and community have existed traditionally as separate worlds, or cultures: the school institution is the self-contained territory of pupils and teachers in which hierarchical and authority-based relationships are reinforced by a set of rules and regulations, not so clearly defined in the outside community (Reid, 1978; 33 - 72). Not suprisingly, attempts to bring the community into the school initially presented antagonisms between the two cultures. Thus, both the parent and teacher respondents below commented on the contrasting worlds of school and community in terms of the differences between the behaviour

expected from local adults and that from teachers and pupils:

2LR: "I mean, adults going back to do classes are probably very conscious that they're going back to school with the kids. I mean, the kids are very conscious of all these old adults lounging about in the corridors doing things in the school that they're not allowed to do, like smoking and what have you. I think it will all take a while to adapt."

19S: "What I know in other schools is female teachers and kids not being allowed to wear trousers at school, being told to keep their hair short, being told not to wear jeans, and it not being allowed for kids to call you by your first name. I mean, all of these things are important in a sense...but they're not important as a principle. It's all those wee things that almost sound insignificant on their own, but when you build them up, they build into a barricade between the school and the students, and the school and the community. And a community school makes an attempt to break those barriers down, and to introduce fresh experiences about the things that they've had nothing but bad experiences of."

As noted in Chapter 5.2. in relation to local policy on community schools, the reform of the traditional closed institution and culture of the school to accomodate the inclusion of adults within its programme was claimed to bring about significant change in the students' (children and adults) attitudes to education and learning. This argument also featured in the conceptions of a community school held by teachers at WHEC who emphasised the changing attitudes of teachers/staff to relationships with students in the community school:

19S: "There seems to be three things go together in a community school. One is the whole attitude to youngsters...The other is the attitudes of other staff involved - that is, the relationship between adult and adult and adult and kids in a community school. And the idea of education in a community school - I like the idea of the relationship part spilling over into the teaching part."

For the non-professional and local respondents, the realignment of teacher-pupil relationships was perceived as the most striking feature of change in a community school:

5LR: "...in the teachers attitudes to the classes. I think the teachers would be a wee bit better if we had adults in the classes. Y'know, maybe he says things a bit better...there wouldn't be so mch talking down to them 'cos you can't do that to an adult... 'cos they'd soon start resenting it. If they were all taught together then he'd have to talk to the whole class as if they were adults. And you usually find that teenager prefer tha - they don't like being talked down to at all. They'd try and talk to them as an equal."

11S: "The teachers' attitudes change - how they deal with them (students). They're much more involved with them as regards the Guidance thing about their own background.."

Q: "Why is there this difference do you think?"

11S: "I think it's elusive. The fact that there's not so many dos and don'ts. It's just different attitudes... and a different atmosphere."

The preceding three sub-sections outline the ways in which WHEC as a community school is understood to be attempting to forge links between the school and the community by respondents within its educational environment. This analysis has provided a clearer understanding of the community school's aim to achieve greater cultural inter-penetration between school and community through the integrative processes of education and leisure. For example, this WHEC teacher indicated some of the ways in which the divisions between education and leisure in the traditional school is changed in the more open organization of the community school:

16S: "It should be trying to break down institutional barriers in the sense that people do not feel that they have a barrier to overcome to come in. That they feel that they can communicate with the school and the various different bits of it... That having come in they don't have to follow a pattern - that somebody can come down here and see what kids are doing; that someone can come in in the evening and do what the kids are doing during the day and find out what they are having to put up with. That there's a sort of feedback; that they didn't feel so sorta restricted. That people coming in for things that have nothing to do with education may broaden their educational ideas - both by seeing what goes on in the place and by eventually becoming more involved in what goes on. And at the same time they're helping themselves and picking up things as they go along, informally."

Ideally, the community school increases the area of educational and social interface, or cultural inter-penetration, between school and community. The interface is developed by the community school through both a reciprocal exchange of ideas, people and resources between school and community and the building up of networks of inter-connecting interests. As was noted in Chapter 2.3.3., in the ideology of holistic education the concept of 'community' is one of educational/recreational association rather than a grouping based upon spatial criteria (Musgrove, 1979: 185). This community development aim of a community school was qualified by a local government official:

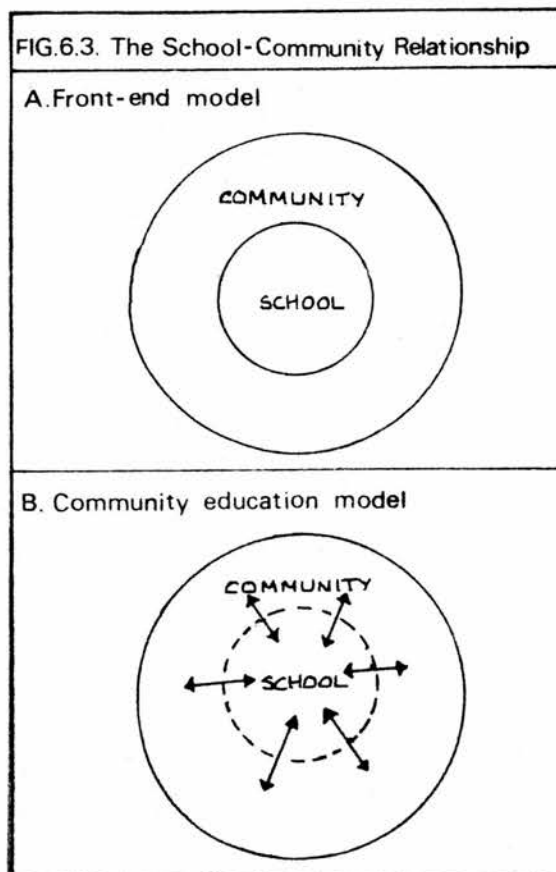
25LG: "I am tremendously sceptical of anyone who suggests that such a building can create community. I think you can use it as a vehicle to establish a network of interrelated groups...which together might form a community...but I do not see it as principally setting out to do this...interest groups and sufficient of them that there are cross-ties because most people have more than one interest. And it's those cross-ties I think that provide the cement that gradually pulls the bits together, and people make contacts as a consequence of that."

As the area of interface increases, so the cultural differentiation, or conflict, between school and community is gradually reduced; dynamism is maintained through a continual interchange between the two. Figure 6.3. shows in diagrammatic form the contrasting relationships between school and community in:

A. The front-end model of schooling in which the school is a community unto itself and, thus, remains isolated from, and irrelevant to, its surrounding community; and

B. The community education model in which the division between school and community is gradually broken down through the open access of the school for the whole community as a local educational and recreational

resource. The education/leisure interchange, or dialogue, that occurs between school and community ensures a continual process of change and adaptation.



6.4.2. The Interaction of Education, Work and Leisure.

The ways in which education and leisure were seen to bring school and community closer together in the 'open' learning environment of the community school were examined in the previous section. It is also important to consider the education-work-leisure relationship as understood and experienced by respondents living in Wester Hailes in order to examine the possible role of a community school there.

In section 6.2., it was shown how the 'progressive' community education professionals in WHEC's educational environment interpreted the relationship between education and leisure in the concept of 'education through leisure'. The integration of work and leisure was viewed as an increasingly necessary development, given the decline, or absence, of full-time employment and the structure it provides in peoples' lives. The blurring of the distinction between work and leisure was seen to be mediated through the education process which assists in the adjustment of attitudes to wider social change.

In contrast to the professionals' explicit statements about the relationship between education, work and leisure, local residents' understanding of their interaction were more often implicit in their views about the community school and their own work and leisure time. For those local respondents who had had some involvement with the community education process (through either WHEC or local-based activities) or where a segmental pattern of work, leisure and family life was no longer distinct (e.g. through unemployment), indications of work-leisure integration were apparent. For example, for this local resident, who works on a part-time basis for a community welfare organisation, the extent to which her work and leisure overlapped meant that the qualities attributed to work and leisure had become interchangeable: community activities that had originally been perceived as voluntary (i.e., undertaken by choice in her spare time) were now regarded as a responsibility that she was obliged to fulfil:

4LR: "I don't think I could ever opt out of it now. Even if I was to stop being paid for doing a specific job, you'd still be involved 'cos you just can't opt out in Wester Hailes once your face is in... If I was to withdraw now, even from the FISH scheme, there's that many elderly and kids with the playgroups concerned, with family

difficulties and things like that, they'd stop you in the streets anyway...if you were working or not."

Another aspect of the reciprocation of work-leisure roles was found in situations where local respondents had used work skills in a recreational context, or leisure skills had been applied in a work situation. For example, one local respondent had become involved in writing for the local Tenants Association newsletter through the offer and use of her training in publishing. Another local respondent had taken up swimming again since WHEC had opened, and had since begun to apply his new leisure skill in his work as a coach driver:

6LR: "The Training Centre I do at Tynecastle there, they go (swimming at WHEC) on Friday morning. I take them. The group I usually go with, if I'm not too busy like, I meet them there at 10.30 on a Friday morning and I give them a hand with learning to swim like, y'know.

In all these cases, the local respondents had undergone an informal learning process in the application of work/leisure skills in a community context. These provide examples of ways in which WHEC in particular, but the community education process generally, can assist in the breaking down of the distinction between work-leisure roles and, thus, can facilitate adjustment to wider social change. This was seen by the professionals interviewed as an important role for WHEC's style of education in the present and accelerating conditions of social and economic change in which individuals, especially younger people, can no longer expect to gain a sense of identity and purpose from full-time employment.

Given that the existing forms and patterns of work and leisure are changing, it has been suggested that new leisure roles may provide non-working people with a sense of purpose and identity similar to

work roles (Atchley, 1971; Jenkins & Sherman, 1981). Again, the process of education is seen as a potential mechanism of adjustment to change, re-orientating people's attitudes, developing new skills and self-images, and, thus, permitting greater continuity and flexibility in role adoption. Education through leisure in particular was conceived as the key to such changes amongst the 'progressive' professionals working in WHEC's educational environment:

22LG: "This is going to sound like a cliché - schools are going to have to... develop in young people the positive use of leisure time...and the ability to accept that they're perhaps not going to work for as long as their fathers did.. It's to do with their view of the world and their position in the world...their sorta self-image in relation to what's going on around them... It's about giving them experiences and a broad range of experiences so that the children don't make assumptions about themselves. It's also about whether people feel they act, or are acted upon...whether you're in control or whether the whole system controls you. And that's something to do with your confidence and self-image."

15S: "I think a lot of our social problems at the moment are sparked off by unemployment. Not just that people feel they deserve a living...but they're unhappy or feel less than whole if they're not working. And how can you change that attitude...for them to feel they're contributing, or having a purposeful life? I think they'll do a bit of fishing, and they'll do all the rest, and that'll be valuable for them, but to feel purposeful they will have to get involved in education. How can they do that in the present system?"

The Principal of WHEC also saw the need for a more qualitative interpretation of leisure education, given the changing nature of work and employment. He stressed the need for leisure education to help people develop a sense of purpose in life, rather than to provide numerous activities with which to fill non-working time:

20S: "I mean the common thing to say is that because of changes in society we are going to have more time for leisure, therefore, we must educate people to use their leisure. I think that is a blind alley because I think that people need more of a purpose in their life than just leisure... Of course, people should use their leisure in a productive and pleasant way, but maybe that isn't the answer. Education should be seeking to help people find a purpose in life..."

There is something more to it than just a lot of activities in leisure. So what can people have that will give purpose to their lives?"

This notion of education for a 'purposeful' life and adjustment to change is closely associated with the idea of 'role flexibility'. Where a greater integration between of education, work and leisure has developed, there is also a greater continuity and interchangeability between work and leisure roles. In the ideology of holistic education, the aim of 'role flexibility' is to develop a greater awareness of an individual's potential through the uptake of new work-leisure roles and the learning of new skills and, thus, to create a broader self-image than the existing work-centred identities prevailing in industrial society. In Fletcher's theory of community education, the notion of flexibility was applied to the roles of student / teacher / person which 'are not occupied separately but in interdependence' (1980:67).

The notion of role flexibility is examined here as it emerged from the interview data. Evidence is presented of the way in which the work-leisure self-images of local respondents were seen to constrain participation and how the community education process was seen to contribute to the development of role flexibility.

The interview data held a number of examples of the way in which the self-images held by local respondents influenced their identification with, and rejection of, certain work-leisure roles:

2IR: "I'd always fancied being a potter"

6LR: "I'm not a sporty person."...."Recreation isn't for me."

8LR: "I'm not a baker"

9IR: "I'm not a sailing person"

These self-images influenced their participation in the activities mentioned. A good example of the interaction between self-image and participation is given by this local respondent who, as a builder, identified himself as a 'practical' man, and therefore has little interest in education which he equated with 'theory':

1LR: "Y'dinnae benefit or anything do y'. It's all.. a waste, night school. It's all the theory. It's no practical y'know.Y'go and learn the theory of 'em and there's nothing practical in it. It's boring... If y'study the theory, it doesn't mean to say you're any good at it. It's only the practice that makes for perfection, y'know. I mean I've been 25 years in my trade and if there's something I don't know, I'm no gonna learn it there."

Another example of the relationship between self-image and participation was given by a local respondent whose non-participation in certain types of leisure pursuits was influenced by his identification of these with types of person different to his own culturally-defined identity:

Q: "Do you think you'd take up any of your old interests again, like dancing?"

6LR: "No, not now. I'm getting too old for it now. See, if you're over 21 nowadays you're an old man, I'm telling you."

Q: "Have you ever thought of taking up anything like evening classes?"

6LR: "No. I've thought about it, ken... I mean I'm quite happy about what I'm doing. It just doesn't seem right for me to go and say 'Right, I'm gonna be a top executive earning £20,000 a year, plus expenses and a company car! Y'know what I mean? You go to evening classes because you want to better yourself, but to me I'm happy with what I'm doing, so I've never had any interest in that."

Closely associated with community education's aim of attitudinal change to education and, thus, the adjustment of working class cultural values, is the attempt to break down established images attributed to activities and their participants, most notably what

education is and who it is for. This is seen to assist in adjustment to social change and the need in advanced capitalist society to have a more flexible labour force. Through the adoption of a wider range of work-leisure roles and the development a more flexible self-image and worldview, it is thought that people will be able to take up new work-leisure roles more effectively.

Within the local community, the development of role flexibility was evident in the context of informal education. For example, this unemployed local respondent had taken up script-writing for a local theatre group and had since adopted the interchangeable roles of teacher/learner/writer. Although he resented the sense of obligation attached to the new role of 'script-writer', he enjoyed the position of being able to pass on his new-found skills to others in the group:

7LR: "But the script-writing. I don't enjoy doing it, 'cos just something I've gotta do... But also, helping other people with theirs...is just basically 'cos I've done it before, so they look to me and say, 'is that OK?' and I help them out."

WHEC's approach to the development of role flexibility is focused on the aim to re-define traditional teacher-pupil identities, roles and relationships with a view to creating a dialogue in the learning process and thereby increasing the interchangeability of teacher-learner roles. Role flexibility was also seen to be facilitated by increasing the range of potential experiences open to individuals through the expansion of educational and recreational provision in the school.

Summary

Community schooling signifies an attempt by the school to link into a process of informal learning that is already evident to a limited extent in the context of participation in community life. The WHEC professionals were conscious of the potential use of these everyday educational influences for the adjustment and integration of individuals in a period of social and economic change. Community education was regarded by them as not only a means of 'broadening the horizons', or adjusting the cultural attitudes and outlook, of Wester Hailes people, but also a key to a more 'purposeful' life without the certainty of full-time employment. For the most part, the local residents themselves understood the community education process only in terms of the community school and thus as an extension of the experiences and meanings associated with traditional forms of schooling provision. This suggests serious limitations on the uptake of school-based community education among the present generation of adults and the restriction of a school-community relationship to the greater participation of parents and pupils. However, there appears to be greater scope for the realization of attitudinal change and role flexibility with an increasing development of local-based informal educational activities in the area.

PART III : CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 7 : CONFLICT AND THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

7.1. GIDDENS' THEORETICAL APPROACH

7.2. CONFLICT AND CONTRADICTION

7.3. IDEOLOGIES, DOMINATION AND POWER.

INTRODUCTION

In Part III of this thesis, an attempt is made to draw together in the final Chapter the theoretical ideology ('discourse') and concepts of community education discussed and analysed in Part I and the practical ideologies ('lived experience') of community education as presented in the case study of a community school in Part II. In this way, it is hoped to develop a more systematic and theory-based evaluation of the complex empirical reality of conflict and the community school.

The notions of conflict and contradiction were developed in Chapters 2 and 3 with reference to the central paradox of control/change in holistic education's ideology and the antagonistic position of the 'new' ideology and forms of community education as they emerge within the established front-end model of educational provision. The phenomenon of conflict was further explored in the analysis of the qualitative data collected in the empirical fieldwork: conflict was studied in terms of contrasting perspectives of education, leisure, school and community as understood by people living and/or working in the educational environment of the community school (WHEC).

In Chapter 3, a theoretical framework for the study of WHEC was developed and two potential areas of conflict were identified: firstly, the intra-professional ideological conflict between upholders of the established orthodoxy of schooling and the proponents of the 'new' ideology of community education and schooling; and secondly, the class-based school-community conflict between the local working class community of 'consumers' and the politico-professional 'provider'

groups in the community school experiment in Wester Hailes.

Although these two levels of conflict have provided a valuable conceptual framework in the analysis of the data, in the light of the research findings, the notion of conflict requires qualification and it can no longer be confined simplistically to these two areas. For example, in the conceptual model outlined in Chapter 3.4. the professionals who were responsible for the pioneering of the WHEC experiment were expected to represent the emergent ideology of community education, while the local education authority respondents were expected to express stronger support for the traditional pedagogic values of schooling. For the purpose of polemical argument, the WHEC professional practitioners were seen in ideological opposition to the local government group. However, the small-scale and selective sample used in this qualitative study (see Chapter 4.4.), has exposed the intra-professional conflict as having a more complex and subtle configuration of contrasting attitudes, beliefs and values. 'Traditional' and 'progressive' ideologies were interwoven between, and among, these two groups. This was illustrated graphically in the dendrogram provided by the Cluster Analysis (Figure 6.2). While the local government officials and elected representatives were spread evenly between Traditionalist and Progressive clusters, a polarisation was evident between the WHEC professionals (except for one respondent in this group) in the 'Progressive' cluster and the politicians and higher management personnel (the 'policy-makers') who were positioned distinctly in the 'Traditionalist' cluster.

In relation to the school-community conflict, it was suggested that oppositions between WHEC and the local residents of Wester Hailes

would be centred on the 'different' form of secondary schooling. Although there are plenty of examples in the data of such school-community conflict, the original conceptualization of conflict in Chapter 3.4. did not explain the apparent 'agreement', or alliance, between local residents and local government groups on several issues. The convergence of these two respondent groups on the question of the purpose of schooling is illustrated again in the dendogram in Figure 6.2.

The more complex configuration of the intra-professional and school-community conflicts found in the empirical study suggest that qualifications are necessary in the conceptualization and explanation of 'conflict'. In addition, the relationship between the intra-professional and school-community levels of conflict requires further examination. For example, it was shown that these two levels of conflict are bridged by WHEC's 'progressive' professional staff who find themselves in a difficult and contradictory position between their local clients in the community and the employing local authority, while also under pressure from 'traditionalist' elements on both sides.

Findings such as these suggest that the concept of conflict alone is inadequate in explaining the more complex empirical reality of the community school situation and that a conceptual framework is needed which incorporates other interrelated notions, such as contradiction, domination and power. In the theory of structuration developed by Giddens (1979), an attempt is made to interrelate and distinguish between these key concepts. This has been found to provide a valuable basis for the final analysis of 'conflict' and the community school.

7.1. GIDDENS' THEORETICAL APPROACH

The first, and most important, qualification necessary relates to the distinction between 'conflict' and 'contradiction' in Marxist social theory. In Giddens' theory (1979), a clear conceptual separation was formulated through the distinction of structure and human agency: contradiction relates to the former and conflict to the latter. The notion of conflict includes struggles or antagonisms between groups and is inherent in the class relation between capital and wage-labour. Contradiction refers to the opposition or disjunction of structural principles of social systems.

Conflict is a concept that denotes the opposition or division of interests between individuals or groups, expressed as definite social practices, where 'interests' relates to those wants implied (not necessarily expressed) by virtue of an individual's membership of particular groups, communities, classes, etc. (Giddens, 1979:189). Giddens' definition transcends the limitation of many Marxist theories which regard conflict as a purely class-based concept and therefore leave inadequately explained non-class antagonisms, e.g., racial and sexual. Using this definition, conflict is applicable to both intra-professional ideological struggles and oppositions between school and community interests, since these both, in their different ways, relate to the contestation of competing interests between groups within the educational arena. In historical analyses of social change, the outcome of conflict between groups has been variously conceptualized in terms of negotiation and 'truce' situations (e.g., Bernbaum, 1967; Bloomer and Shaw, 1979) and in terms of 'alliances' or affiliations between classes and class fractions (e.g., Poulantzas, 1973a). An

important point common to both approaches is that conflict is negotiable between contending groups; it is fought out within the politico-economic arena and is mediated through the relations of power between the conflicting parties. The definition of power and the relation between power and conflict will be returned to later.

The notion of contradiction, although a central feature of Marxist social theory and the concept of the dialectic, was described by Larrain as 'one of the most difficult and slippery in Marx's thought' (1979:218). Essentially, contradiction refers to the historical development of social systems as a movement of opposite tendencies which, in spite of being mutually interdependent, are mutually exclusive and struggle with each other. Within this concept, opposition is not reconcilable in any real sense. The consequences of contradiction, which in Giddens' thesis is a process occurring through system integration, are the accentuation of opposing tendencies leading to 'crises'. Contradiction is thus considered to be a 'progressive' force in revolutionary social change in Marxist philosophy.

Giddens proposes that the primary contradiction in the capitalist mode of production is that between private appropriation and socialised production, where these are structural principles operating in terms of each other, but also contravening one another (1979:142). He makes a further distinction between primary and secondary contradictions: By primary contradictions, he means those fundamentally involved in the reproduction of a social system 'because they enter into the very structuring of what that system is'. By secondary contradictions, he means those brought about through the existence of primary

contradictions and are in some senses a result of it (1979:143). It is in this latter sense of secondary contradiction that this study of a community school refers, education being a 'secondary' (super)structural principle in the organization of system reproduction. The principal contradiction in this study appears as that between education for the 'social', flexible, participating and autonomous individual, presented by the theoretical ideology of holistic education (see Chapter 2.2.2.), and the lived experience of the 'privatised', isolated, and 'alienated' worker/resident in the Wester Hailes community (see Chapter 5.4.1.). In this way, the notion of contradiction is a dialectical one since it only occurs, or becomes apparent, through the integration of opposing principles within a social system.

Although a conceptual separation can be made in this abstract way between conflict and contradiction, in reality they are directly linked and tend to be coincident. However, Giddens suggests that there are sets of circumstances that can serve to distance one from the other: the 'opacity' of action, the dispersion of contradictions and direct repression (1979:144). Any or all of these can become incorporated as features of 'structures of domination', where domination involves the 'asymmetrical distribution of resources' and 'resources' denote 'the media through which power is exercised, and structures of domination reproduced' (1979:91). In Chapter 2.5. the dispersion of contradictions was illustrated in relation to the separation between 'political' and 'educational' domains by educationalists. In this way, domination can be seen in terms of its consequences for connections between conflict and contradiction,

although as a structural concept it is reproduced in, and through, contradiction, e.g., class domination is a way in which a contradictory form is expressed in capitalist society.

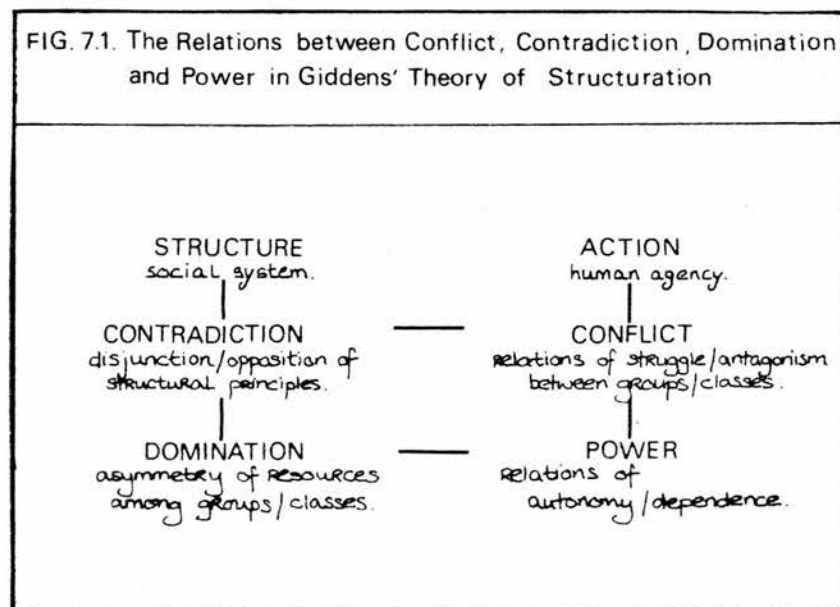
How does the concept of power relate to conflict and contradiction in Giddens' theoretical schema? According to Lukes' work on power (1974), the widely-used 'one-dimensional' Weberian notion of power treats it as a phenomenon of willed or intended action, where power is defined in terms of the capacity or likelihood of people to achieve desired or intended outcomes. For others (e.g., Parsons, 1963; Arendt, 1970; Poulantzas, 1973b), power is specifically a property of social collectivities, a medium whereby common interests, or class interests, are realized. These are two ways in which power structures are said to be constituted and two versions of domination, each of which can link the notion of power to conflict. But, as this study has suggested, conflict is not always expressed overtly as struggle and power is not only in the hands of dominant groups (e.g., the local authority in this study). In the situation of WHEC, conflict and power were expressed both passively (e.g., by many of the local residents by withdrawing their power of participation, involvement, consumption), and actively (e.g., by local parents transferring their children to other secondary schools).

For this reason, Giddens' definition of power as a relational concept that is always two-way between individuals or groups is valuable. It breaks away from the closed Weberian diagnosis of authority and power which leaves little room for resistance to forms of domination and control by the lower echelons in bureaucratic organizations. For Giddens, power is described as a transformative capacity on the level

of human agency. It refers to agents' capabilities of accomplishing outcomes in strategic action (autonomy), where the realization of these outcomes depends on the agency of others (dependence). On the level of social systems, power involves the reproduction of relations of autonomy and dependence in social interaction (1979:88-94).

The Weberian notion of power also implies that power and conflict are necessarily linked as if power only exists, or is exercised, in the face of resistance by others. Although the exertion of power often does stimulate conflict, or occurs in the context of struggle, the link between power and conflict is not inevitable. Giddens suggests that it exists because of the substantive relations between power, conflict and interests: 'Power and conflict, like power and the realisation of interests, are frequently, but nevertheless contingently, associated with one another'(1979:94).

Figure 7.1. sets out in diagrammatic form the relations between the abstract concepts of conflict, contradiction, domination and power in



Giddens' theory of structuration. In this schema, contradiction is connected to power only via domination, as the form in which resources are unequally structured within social reproduction. The link between conflict and domination is mediated through power relations.

It is also important to clarify the relations between domination and power in the light of the discussion of ideology and hegemony in Chapter 3.2. For both Gramsci (1971) and Althusser (1971), ideologies express modes of class domination: Ideologies operate to achieve domination in class society through maintaining consensus, i.e. hegemony. But ideologies are also directly involved in politico-economic conflicts which are effected by the power relations of the contesting groups or classes. According to the dominant ideology thesis, in any society the dominant ideology (or in Giddens terms 'the representation of sectional interests as universal ones') provides the overall frame of meaning within which ideological struggles occur. Thus, in this study, the dominant 'schooling' ideology provides the central point of reference within which arguments for or against community education and community schools are debated and assessed by respondents. For the purposes of this study, therefore, Giddens theory can be qualified further by introducing the concept of hegemony as a structural notion relating to the maintenance of class domination through consensus, while ideologies act on the level of human agency in the contestation and formulation of social, political and cultural ideas and practices.

Having qualified the connections of conflict to the related sociological concepts of contradiction, domination and power by adopting Giddens' theoretical approach of structuration, the remainder

of this Chapter is devoted to the application of the empirical research findings to this schema. The tendency for conflict and contradiction to converge, or for contradiction to involve conflict, in social reality has meant that it is difficult to separate out the two forms of opposition within the empirical material while also demonstrating the inter-relation between the two. For this reason, conflict and contradiction in relation to the community school are analysed together in section 7.2. of this Chapter. In section 7.3., the operation of ideology through domination and power within the research setting is analysed in terms of the response of those in subordinate positions, i.e., the 'objects' of political manipulation, to the educational discourse of community education and the practical experience of community schooling. In this way, the 'theoretical ideology' of community education is related to the 'practical ideologies', or lived experience, of the respondents.

7.2. CONFLICT AND CONTRADICTION

The method of analysis adopted here is indicative of a move away from the functionalists' search for the functions that social practices fulfil, in favour of an examination of the contradictions they embody (Giddens, 1979:131). In relation to the community school, typically conflict is manifest in terms of the oppositions between the interests of the school and those of the community (see Chapter 3.3.). It is suggested that underlying these more 'superficial', or empirically evident, conflicts is the contradiction mentioned earlier between 'social' education and 'privatised' capitalist society. This secondary

contradiction of community education underlies a number of conflicts, both intra-professional and school-community, within the educational environment of WHEC and it is to a review of these that this section now turns.

The contradiction between 'school' and 'community' ideas and methods of educational practice, engendered in the community school concept, provided the central focus for the intra-professional conflicts. In this sense, conflict and contradiction can be seen to coincide. The effects of integrating contradictory forms of school/community educations were seen by both the middle-management Community Education officials and the 'progressive' WHEC professionals to involve a threat or distortion to the principles of community education in favour of the more powerful (in terms of political and economic resources) schooling sector.

The ideological struggle within the local government group was seen in the analysis of Lothian Region's local policy on community schools in Chapter 5.2. Controversy was apparent between the predominantly schooling-oriented interests and arguments of the policy-making echelons and the interests of the middle-management sub-group who were concerned to protect the political, economic and ideological basis of their 'community' approach to education. For example, community schools were regarded by the latter group as the formal school sector undermining the political and financial status of the Community Education service within the Regional Education Authority and 'institutionalising' an informal educational relationship with the community through their school/sports centre approach to community education and the emphasis on facilities and formal, organised

provision. Other examples of ways in which the interests of the statutory 'schooling' sector were seen to impinge on those of community education in community schools included the inflexible operation of the 'time off in lieu' aspect of the Alternative contract for community school teachers; the rigidity of the daytime school timetable; the pressures of the examination system on the curriculum and teachers' time; and the selection and appointment of teachers for the community school.

There were equally as many examples given by the WHEC teachers of conflicts between school and community interests. These were expressed mainly in terms of the persistence of traditional 'teacher' attitudes amongst some of the staff and tensions relating to discipline, departmentalism, access to facilities for the community and the unequal contribution of teachers to WHEC's community education programme.

Although there were disagreements over strategy, however, one of the areas in which there appeared to be a certain level of consensus among the politico-professional body in WHEC's educational environment concerned the future development of WHEC as a community school. For example, experience of the WHEC model of a community school had created doubts amongst all professionals as to the efficacy, both educationally and financially, of the current induced model, i.e., the capital-intensive, purpose-built form of the community school where designation as such is a political decision. Both local government personnel and WHEC staff respondents tended to favour the idea of an organic model where the initiative to become a community school arises from the school and its staff and the development of community-use, or

community-oriented, High schools is a more heterogeneous and gradual process.

Yet, this concern about WHEC's development was not shared by respondents in the local community. In Chapter 6.1., it was shown how the conflict between school and community was focused mainly on the educational issues of discipline and control in WHEC and the aims of schooling. This clash in educational interests was further highlighted in an analysis of the different respondent groups' worries and concerns about WHEC's development during its first eighteen months of operation. Table 7.1. demonstrates clearly the contrasting interests of local residents, whose worries concerned schooling and disciplinary matters, compared to the WHEC staff and local government groups who viewed as more problematic the broader political and educational issue of WHEC's development as a community school.

TABLE 7.1.: RESPONDENT GROUPS AND WORRIES ABOUT WHEC'S DEVELOPMENT				
<u>Worries about WHEC's development</u>	<u>Respondent Groups</u>			Total
	Local Residents	WHEC Staff	Local Government	
Nos (%) of respondents				
Community school	1(7)	5(55)	6(86)	12(40)
Schooling	9(64)	1(11)	1(14)	11(37)
Relationships	3(21)	5(55)	2(29)	10(33)
Early Days Yet	3(21)	2(22)	5(71)	10(33)
Discipline/Control	9(64)	-	-	9(30)
None	3(21)	2(22)	1(14)	6(20)
Facilities/Programme	2(14)	1(11)	1(14)	4(13)
Total	14(47)	9(30)	7(23)	30

The integration of education and leisure within the schooling system was another issue around which conflict and contradiction converged. In Chapter 6.3. the contradiction between social education/ privatised society became apparent in the contrasting class cultural meanings and motives associated with 'leisure' among the local residents and the WHEC professionals interviewed. This contradiction provides an insight into the mis-match between WHEC's 'social', formal group, activity and interest-based programme and the more individualised and consumer-oriented leisure needs and lifestyles of the Wester Hailes residents. It was not surprising then that WHEC's school/sports centre image was not seen as appropriate for a community leisure facility in a working class area like Wester Hailes.

On this issue of education-leisure integration within the community school, conflict was evident on both intra-professional and school-community levels. Indeed, this was one of the issues where local parents tended to uphold the values of the dominant schooling ideology, also supported by the policy-making sub-group of the local authority, leaving the 'progressive' professionals rather isolated in their reformist beliefs and interests in 'education through leisure'. For example, the 'progressive' professionals expressed a belief in the integration of education, work and leisure, both in schools and in wider society, as a necessary reform in the light of contemporary socio-economic changes, such as automation and technological developments and more time spent away from work outside full employment, especially amongst young people. Local parents, on the other hand, like some of the local authority officials, stressed the greater importance of 'serious' academic/employment-oriented education

over the recreational programme in schools. For the local parents interviewed, the expansion of leisure opportunities and education in schools was seen as a 'light-hearted' attitude and as a potential threat to children's schooling. The WHEC pupils confirmed the parents' fears when they spoke of the disadvantages of the WHEC teachers' 'soft' approach on their examination performance and academic education.

The concern of the 'progressive' professionals to develop WHEC as a community school was focused on the problem of establishing an education-leisure relationship with the community. Both the local resident and WHEC staff groups were sceptical of the impact of WHEC on, and relevance to, the wider adult community beyond its role as a secondary school (see Chapter 5.4.3. and Table 6.6.). The integration of education and leisure within a community school, and the contradiction that this embodies, partially explains why, at the time of the study, there was little evidence of the development of an education-leisure relationship between WHEC and the local community on the basis of a reciprocal interchange of ideas, needs and resources. Similar to Westwood's conclusion in relation to adult education (1980), it is suggested that in order for this sort of two-way relationship to be established by community schools, the dominant bourgeois ideology and culture of education and leisure must accept as equally valid working class cultural values. In relation to WHEC, attempts to move towards this ideal and encourage local interest and participation in community education is an interest shown predominantly on the part of the 'community' professionals. For example, WHEC's initial school/sports centre approach was based on

the assumption that the community would 'come flocking through the doors' and start taking up the activities and opportunities offered by WHEC. However, they have since re-thought this strategy and made efforts to move out of the Centre more and to develop 'outreach' work within the local area itself, building up personal contacts and contributing to community development work in the area. The consequences of building up these education-leisure links with the local community were shown in the sub-group of more active, participating and community-oriented local tenants and pupils who lent support to community education's assumption that the participation process is closely linked to attitudinal change and the development of 'social' individuals. But, for the most part, local people in Wester Hailes expressed little support for, or interest in, the community school and its 'social' education. Their positive evaluations of WHEC tended to be framed within the dominant schooling ideology, e.g., the benefits for young people of a 'modern' school, the greater access for parents to the school and its teachers and the improved recreational provision for youngsters in the locality.

One of the major issues in the intra-professional debate centres on the political constraints inherent in professionalism itself. It underlies any attempts by the community school staff to move towards the aims expressed in community education's ideology and to bridge the gap between professional-centred and community-centred education. As noted in Chapter 3.3.2., the professional community educators' interest in protecting their status and power contradicts any moves towards the redefinition, or 'demystification', of education and knowledge. Some of the radical implications of this rationale for the

existing education system were apparent in this teacher's criticism of WHEC as a community school:

13S: "At the moment it is, as far as I'm concerned, an ordinary school. It should differ from an ordinary school because we shouldn't have a building as such where kids come in and do compulsory education from 9 to 3.30. We've got to start rethinking the whole idea of what education's all about, what education's for. And that means changing the whole system as far as I'm concerned. And that's a whole new degree structure for teachers. There shouldn't be just teachers in here, there should be a lot more community workers... There should be parents in here teaching, y'know. There's an awful lot of talent out there which is just unused or untapped because of the idea 'I'm a teacher and therefore I can do it best.' It's nonsense."

As noted in Chapter 5.4.2., the growing professionalism in the organisation of 'community' projects, activities and groups within the Wester Hailes community had been found to inhibit local participation and to have a pernicious effect on 'releasing local voluntary initiative'. This is another point of antagonism between the local-based and the school-based community education:

22LG: "The whole concept of community education has been one of releasing voluntary initiative, and the community school isn't really getting at that one... People are either paid directly or are on the Alternative Contract, and therefore the time is there to do it. People could teach Adult Education classes (a) as unqualified people, and (b) voluntarily - they don't have to get paid for it."

Whereas qualified teachers are paid for 'community' teaching, local unqualified people are classified as 'volunteers' and therefore remain unpaid for teaching in community education programmes. This difference is indicative of the constraint of professionalism on the implementation of community education in practice.

For the most part, community educators are aware of the contradiction between professional/community-centred educations and thus look for

ways to counter the drawbacks inherent in increasing professionalism:

"Over emphasis on professionalisation also puts down the local person who has a part to play in the community education format in any local group. We need to find new ways in which professional groupings bolster community initiative, rather than deprive local people of finding their own way through the expanding world made available through community education... Real education is only available through an 'open' framework whereas professional stances inhibit such openness." (Beasley, 1980: 3)

However, as Beasley's statement implies, the move is towards adjusting and de-formalising their 'professional stance', rather than attempting to implement any of the more radical recommendations suggested earlier which would undermine the professional educators' status and power.

According to Gramsci (1971), the contestation between school and community educational ideologies is located within the superstructural notion of civil society. This implies that the pressures for 'social' educational reform intrinsic to these intra-professional struggles are intricately bound up with other institutions, ideas and practices occurring within civil society. For example, in speaking of community education's ideal of 'de-professionalisation', the WHEC Principal recognised that the balance of politico-economic forces in wider society exerts pressure ,and puts limits, on innovations and changes in education:

20S: "It's the hardest part (of a community school), because I really don't like to press the staff and say 'Give up your status as a teacher and stand down from being a professional and admit that other people can do your job'... It depends really how that mirrors the changes that take place in society generally. If a society moves to a freeing of these rigidities, yes, the community school will be in a better position to match up to these changes in society. If, on the other hand, we simply re-introduce conscription, put more troops on the street, and arm the police with machine guns, then the community school doesn't have a role to play."

For both Marx and Gramsci, civil society, as the politico-economic arena in which ideological conflicts are fought out, represents the active and positive moment of historical development (Bobbio, 1979: 31). In this sense, the underlying contradictions and ideological struggles centred around the issue of community education can be seen as dynamic forces in a dialectical process of change and the WHEC experiment can be referred to as part of what Marcuse (1976) referred to as the 'problematic of becoming'.

The contradiction between the introduction of a 'social' form of education within privatised capitalist society has implications for the conflict relationship between local authority-WHEC professionals-local community. The 'progressive' professional community educators cannot merely be seen as representing the 'new' educational ideology against that of schooling. They must also be seen as occupying an uneasy mediatory position between the local State educational apparatus (their employers and the 'providers' of material resources) and the community (the 'consumers') as they act as 'brokers' for the new concepts and methods of community education to their local clients on behalf of their employers. Their loyalties are pulled between their politico-economic ties with the 'powerful' State and their responsibility to the 'powerless' local learners. Thus, they find themselves in an ethical dilemma of contradictory allegiances (Cheetham and Hill, 1973; Nisbet et al, 1980: 107).

The issue of the professional community educators position in the politico-economic power structure of the existing capitalist order thus brings a moral dimension to the intra-professional conflict which hinges on the negotiation of interests between the professional

community educator's alliance with, or allegiance to, his/her local State employers and that with the learners in the local community. This ethical dilemma was depicted clearly in a 'Learning Market' display compiled at the Community Education Association Conference held in Edinburgh in March 1982 which a number the WHEC professionals attended. It read as follows:

ALLEGIANCE TO THE STATE?

Am I promoting a more participatory society?
Should I be working with MSC or the Police?
What will be the consequences of power and control?
Will the local authority bail me out?
What will I do when the Army is on the streets?
Where will I stand?

ALLEGIANCE TO THE LEARNER?

As your community education worker I want to enable you, through reflection, to increase your awareness, change your outlook and definitions, question, and through increased self-confidence, devise strategies for the struggle to come.

The power relations between the community school and the local state, the Regional Education Authority, underpinned an aspect of the WHEC professionals' ideological dilemma. As one of the Region's first experiments in school-based community education, WHEC had been given few clear policy guidelines by the Region's Education Committee concerning its aims as a community school, leaving WHEC in a 'cleft stick' position in relation to the local authority:

20S: "One is very well aware that the Region are lurking in positions where they can turn around at any time and say 'That is not what we set you up to do'. Their concern seems to be to let us state our own objectives and then to fix the limits up to which we will go...There is the question are we concerned with a Centre of Excellence, where we promote high levels of achievement in sports, in music, in arts or whatever? Or are we concerned with meeting the needs of the majority of our people round here - people who've had little contact with

education and many of whom are critical and alienated from it. Is a community school about giving the community more power over what education and leisure and recreation is? Is it about handing it over? Or is it about the professional going in and deciding how to keep them amused?"

As noted in the earlier discussion of Giddens' theoretical approach to the concepts of conflict and contradiction, a crucial dimension of these oppositions is their relation to structures of domination and to reciprocal relations of power between contesting groups. Concerning the former, the primary structure of domination involved is the institution of the school in capitalist society which, in Gramsci's social theory, serves as an important instrument of political hegemony, amongst other institutions in civil society. As this study has shown, the interests supporting the dominant ideology of schooling are powerful ones, in terms of both the political and economic resources of the local authority and the forms of resistance, both potential and realized, of the more traditionalist elements in the local community.

The following section considers more fully the 'dialectics of domination and resistance' (Apple, 1980) operating in the educational environment of WHEC through using Giddens' schema for ideological analysis which seeks to uncover the relations of domination and power to ideology, operating on the levels of both discourse and lived experience.

7.3. IDEOLOGIES, DOMINATION AND POWER

The main aim of this section is to analyse the ways in which educational ideologies, both 'theoretical' and 'practical', interact within the research setting to achieve, maintain or resist domination and power. Using Giddens' model of ideological analysis discussed in Chapter 3.3., two levels are distinguished:

- i) Strategic action. This form of analysis suggests that through the discourse relating to community schooling, i.e., the formalised claims or arguments expressed in local policy (see Chapter 5.2.) or other forms of theoretical ideology (see Chapter 2.3.), power is harnessed to conceal the sectional interests of dominant groups. However, one of the main assumptions here is that people know something about the circumstances of their own action and that ideology at the level of discourse is relatively easily 'penetrated' by those who are the objects of its political manipulation. The transparency of discourse permits, therefore, a certain level of active or passive resistance to these forms of domination.
- ii) Institutional analysis. This level of analysis suggests that through 'symbolic orders' forms of domination are sustained in the everyday context of lived experience. Giddens defines ideologies as 'ideological aspects of symbol-systems'(1979:1879) and 'symbolic orders' is a related term he uses to denote sources of conduct that are psychologically and historically deeply rooted, or 'buried', in human consciousness. In this sense, it is closely linked to the Gramscian concept of hegemony. The aim of

institutional analysis is to identify structural elements which link aspects of lived experience to legitimation in such a way as to favour dominant interests.

7.3.1. Strategic Action

In Chapter 3.4.1. the 'crisis' stage of ideological configuration within the politico-professional education community (Figure 2.3) was regarded as applicable to times, like the present, when the established educational ideas and practices have come under criticism and are challenged from within this group. For a 'progressive' section of this political and professional body (e.g., the local government and WHEC professional groups of respondents in this study), the new ideas and methods of community education are regarded as offering a better approach to the contemporary problems and issues that the present forms of schooling have been unable to resolve. The formalised arguments put forward by these groups are taken as representative of the discourse of community education.

Reflecting the issues that underpin the national educational debate, arguments for educational reform proposed by the professionals interviewed within WHEC's educational environment were based on the common criticism of the traditional school as a closed and introverted institution: School education must begin to direct its attentions outwardly to incorporate the wider adult community in the learning (adjustment/integration) process. Closer school-community links should be fostered by encouraging reciprocal participation in school and community through education and leisure.

Arguments for the development of a closer school-community relationship have been expressed more strongly by professional community educators, local education authorities and central government (see Chapter 3.3.2.) where its purpose is regarded largely as making the education process more effective within the conditions of rapid change in the forms and relations of production in advanced capitalism. Education, therefore, must gear itself to the changing needs of capital and develop a labour force that is flexible and able to adapt to transformations in the production process. Thus, it has been argued that the discourse of community education generally, but the development of a closer school-community relationship in particular, is part of an attempt by dominant groups to make education more effective by the dispersal and penetration of bourgeois educational values of adaptation and change through the many institutions and agencies of material culture. In this way, the stimulation of greater participation in educational and recreational learning and the development a 'dialogue' between school/professional and community learners (see Chapter 6.4.) assists in the adjustment/integration process by promoting role flexibility and attitudinal change.

The research findings indicated that a distinction should be made between the interpretation of community education's discourse by those who sought to maintain, and those interested to reform, the dominant ideology of 'schooling'. Chapter 5.2. concluded that the motives underlying the policy-makers arguments for community schooling included the need to take action on the issues of a declining school-age population, which posed the threat of school closures in the

Region, and the largely negative attitudes of the working class to participation in education and schooling. For the policy-makers, the community school represented a way to increase the demand for, and efficiency of, local-based educational services by promoting a new public image, or packaging, of the local secondary school, while at the same time conserving the core principles of the established system of schooling, most notably the importance of maintaining academic and examination standards. However, the arguments put forward by the community education professionals who worked in either WHEC or the Region's Community Education service were more concerned with the reform of current schooling ideas and practices, rather than their preservation, in line with the 'open' ideals and aims engendered in the ideology of community education. As noted in the previous section, this division of school/community educational interests provided a firm basis for the intra-professional conflicts.

In Chapter 3.4.2. it was argued that a contradiction inherent in the contemporary community education/school movement is found in idealist attempts to enfranchise the 'powerless' community as an equal party in a 'powerful' political-professional alliance for educational reform. Historical analyses of educational reform movements have shown 'the community' to be external to the educational debate, except as a target group for bourgeois educational reformers' intentions of 'improvement', or 'of adapting the 'civilisation' and the morality of the broadest popular masses' (Gramsci, 1971: 242). Efforts to recruit the support of the community have only been achieved at a minimal level amongst an 'articulate minority', while the majority express 'inarticulate resistance' to new forms of control (Johnson, 1970-98).

This resistance was confirmed in the case study of the WHEC experiment in community schooling where, as the Cluster Analysis in Figure 6.2. tentatively demonstrates, local residents were generally more retentive of 'traditionalist' schooling aims and were opposed to many of the WHEC professionals 'progressive' educational innovations, (apart from the sub-group of more active, participatory, community-oriented local tenants and pupils), even though their own conceptions and experiences of school did not indicate a belief in the efficacy or 'pleasantness' of traditional forms of school education. Some of the comments made by local respondents concerning the purposes of schooling and community development work in the area indicated that, despite their support for certain aspects of these professional-centred activities, they 'saw through', or penetrated, their ideologies. For example, in Chapter 6.1., in a discussion about the importance of schools for different groups in the community, local residents made statements such as: 'schools are somewhere to get rid of the kids while parents go to work and before the kid starts work or goes to war'; 'schools don't exist for to give us education'; 'schools are just a dead end thing'. This distrust and suspicion of schools and the perception of 'community' activities as controlled by outside professionals, were factors underlying local 'resistance' and thus acting against the participation or involvement of many of the adult residents in WHEC's programme, except as casual users of its more consumer-oriented recreational facilities, like the swimming pool.

Among the WHEC professionals and the local authority Community Education officials interviewed, there was also evidence of penetration of the political intentions of community school policy as

implemented in the Region. For example, the lack of a political commitment to the ideology of community education was decried by many of these respondents in the realization of the constraints imposed by the more powerful schooling interests on the introduction of innovations in WHEC in particular, and on the implementation of community education within a school more generally. This had brought confusion and disillusionment among some of WHEC's more 'radical' teachers:

13S "We're very disillusioned by the Executive of this place because there is a lot of promises being made to staff about... the direction we're moving in. I feel quite bitter at times about coming here... because I signed a contract to work teaching in a community school and it was all spelt out to me what a Brave New World we were going to investigate. And in some ways, I'd like to get them for breach of contract because I don't feel I'm going in the direction I want to go in here... There's the problem of people with a lot of energy and a lot of dynamic ideas not being able to carry out their ideas. And a lot of people here are applying for jobs elsewhere because, let's face it, why kill yourself when... in an ordinary school you can work from 9 to 3.30, if you're not getting anywhere here."

Within the local education authority, resistance by those professionals in subordinate, or less powerful, positions than the 'school' policy-makers tended to be articulated in criticisms of the regional policy (or lack of it) and/or WHEC as a community school. For the 'progressive WHEC professionals, their mediating position as pioneers and 'brokers' of Lothian Region's first experiment in community schooling and their ideological commitment to the principles of community education and educational reform meant that their political and ideological position as regards resistance was more complex. For the most part, initial optimism was tempered to an acceptance of lower expectations of the possibilities for change in the existing system of schooling, or the adjustment of these expectations to more long-term goals.

7.3.2. Institutional Analysis

This level of ideological analysis seeks to illustrate how the core principles of the dominant ideology of schooling and the sectional interests that it represents are confirmed and legitimated by the local community's experiences and understandings of education and schooling in relation to the WHEC experiment. In other words, how domination is concealed as domination through the operation of hegemony.

On issues relating to children's schooling, there was often found to be a stronger link between the ideological stance of the local authority policy-making sub-group and that of the local Wester Hailes respondents, than within the group of politico-professional respondents as a whole. Thus, similar to the policy-makers, local respondents expressed the belief that, in schools, education for work/employment in adult life was more valuable than, and separate from, education for leisure/unemployment.

The local authority's original concern to combat the 'youth problem' in Wester Hailes through the joint-provision of educational and recreational facilities in the housing scheme in the form of WHEC (see Chapter 5.1) indicates a conception of education-leisure provision as a form of control in the community. This view was indirectly supported by local adult residents who regarded WHEC's main contribution to the area in terms of the increased recreational opportunities available to young people which 'kept them out of trouble':

6LR: "They should have something there every night for the kids... To me, they should maybe have a disco there every night, not just at the weekends, to keep them off the streets, stop the fighting, things like that."

In this sense, the role of leisure education in schools is similar to that of schooling per se in terms of its function as a mechanism of system reproduction and maintaining ideological consensus. In terms of the traditional 'schooling' interests of the local authority, the ideology of community schooling is interpreted to sustain domination through encouraging wider participation in a school's educational and recreational activities by young people, which is a view given legitimation by the local community.

In a different way, the ideology of community education as argued for by the 'progressive' professionals indicates a similar concern to maintain ideological consensus through the aim of developing a 'community of interests' and the belief in 'education through leisure'. Although the informal and integrated approach of this 'new form of control' differs in its reformist stance, the underlying aims of adjustment, integration and attitudinal change are similar.

More recently, there have been indications that the parental concern about WHEC as a secondary school has become accentuated as unemployment increases and the competition for jobs becomes more severe. The local parents' opposition to WHEC's progressive style of school education has been given further confirmation when, because of the 1981 Parents Charter, they were permitted to withdraw their children from schools in their local catchment and apply to attend other schools outwith the district.

Table 7.2. gives the rates of these placements for the Edinburgh Division for August 1982, and indicates clearly WHEC's failure to

TABLE 7.2.: REQUESTS FOR ADMISSIONS TO NON-CATCHMENT SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN EDINBURGH DIVISION, AUGUST 1982								
<u>School</u>	Total Catchment Pupils	Placing Requests for Other Schools by Catchment Pupils			Placing Requests Granted to Non- Catchment Pupils			Total Pupils Enrolled
		No.	% Edin. Div.	% Ctch- ment	No.	% Edin. Div.	% Pupils Enrl'd	
Ainslie Park	206	57	9.5	27.8	6	1.0	3.9	152
Boroughmuir	239	39	6.5	16.3	35	5.8	16.0	218
Broughton	207	21	3.5	10.1	43	7.1	19.8	217
Castlebrae	218	57	9.5	26.1	6	1.0	3.7	120
Craigmount	287	24	4.0	8.4	28	4.6	10.0	279
Craigroyston	197	25	4.1	12.7	19	3.2	10.3	184
Currie	285	17	2.8	6.0	19	3.2	6.7	283
Drummond	115	17	2.8	14.8	23	3.8	19.0	121
Firrhill	326	34	5.6	10.4	21	3.5	7.2	290
Forresters	167	14	2.3	8.4	51	8.5	25.2	202
Gracemount	170	17	2.8	10.0	16	2.7	9.6	167
Holy Rood	238	16	2.7	6.7	9	1.5	3.9	229
James Gillespie's Leith Academy	177	16	2.7	9.0	58	9.6	27.0	215
Liberton	218	13	2.2	6.0	45	7.5	18.2	247
Portobello	270	25	4.1	9.2	27	4.5	10.0	269
Queensferry	347	11	1.8	3.2	40	6.6	11.1	359
St. Augustines	188	3	0.5	1.6	1	0.2	0.5	185
St. Thomas	208	11	1.8	5.3	7	1.2	3.5	202
Aquinas	145	12	2.0	8.3	25	4.1	16.1	155
The Royal High	195	4	0.6	2.0	43	7.1	19.3	223
Trinity Academy	198	32	5.3	16.1	22	3.7	11.9	184
Tynecastle	240	24	4.0	10.1	53	8.8	20.1	264
WHEC	355	99	16.5	27.9	4	0.7	1.6	254
Total	5196	601	100	256.3	601	100	274.6	5059
Source: Lothian Regional Council, Education Dept.								

secure the support, and confidence of many local parents in terms of its role as a 'good' secondary school: 28% of WHEC's catchment pupils requested to enrol in other schools, compared to an average Edinburgh rate of 11%. WHEC also received one of the lowest rates of placing requests from non-catchment pupils: 1.6% as against an average of 12% in the Edinburgh area as a whole. Comparison of these figures with the secondary transferral requests received by the other community schools in the Lothian Region revealed that the local parents' reaction to WHEC as a school is far more comparable with that to schools in Edinburgh's other urban 'deprived' local authority housing schemes, such as Ainslie Park (Pilton) and Castlebrae (Craigmillar). Local parent respondents' concepts of an 'ideal school' were frequently modelled upon the good academic schools found in Edinburgh's middle class areas, like the Royal High School, where the pupils appear smartly dressed and the prospect of a disruptive, rough element in the school is lessened. This was illustrated by the following local respondents' assessments of WHEC:

3LR: "Maybe I'm a bit snobbish, but half the children that come out of it are - well, filthy and use bad language... I also think it's too free the way people dress... and I think, from what I've heard, and awful lot of them don't have respect for teachers."

2LR: "Of course, WHEC school's got a disadvantage... because you've got a much tougher element in these areas, and it's obvious that their kids are going to be going to this school. So then you're going to have more discipline problems, rowdiness, hooliganism and so on... I mean, that's a fact of life."

This indicates that the response to WHEC as a school by local parents is more of a social statement about the inequalities of the schooling system as a whole, inequalities that are reinforced by the tendency to provide 'social' education in deprived areas, than a statement about WHEC in particular.

At this final point, it is important to note one of the unintended consequences of the contradiction between 'social' education within the existing capitalist mode of production. The effect of the Conservative Party's policy of parental 'free choice' and 'accountability' in schooling, engendered in the Parents' Charter, has served to not only reinforce structures of domination through the operation of hegemony, but also emphasise the distortions to the 'social' ideals and aims of community education when implemented within the existing educational and social order. For example, this study has indicated the tendency for working class parents to prefer and choose 'good' academic schools for their children, an attitude which legitimises the established ideology of 'schooling' and the sectional interests that this represents. On the other hand, there is a tendency for the 'progressive' professionals, seen here as teachers, to choose to work in experimental educational projects (often situated in working class areas), like community schools, which offer not only opportunities to implement 'radical' or reformist innovations, but also better salaries (e.g. the Alternative Contract in Lothian Region) and the opportunity for career advancement. The operation of this 'free market' approach, where the provider is the entrepreneur and the community the consumers, might be said to create an 'emigration' effect where working class pupils choose to go to traditional schools outside their catchment and teachers move in to work in progressive experimental schools in 'deprived' working class areas. However, this can only serve to reinforce educational inequality; no free market exists where educational opportunities are differentially distributed and where the reasons for these inequalities are located in the class structure of capitalist societies. As Lowe argues, in the free market

situation neither the entrepreneur nor the consumer is 'king' because the state at a national and local level intervenes and controls the distribution of educational resources (1970:32-41). Experiments in the principles of holistic education, like community schools, might enjoy greater 'success' if they were implemented on a national basis and within an recurrent system of educational provision where resources are distributed more evenly throughout the different forms and age-groups of provision, rather than concentrated at the 'front-end'.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The following is a list of the main topic areas and questions used, in a variety of combinations, to compile the interview schedules. Each question has been numbered for coding purposes and the relevant code list for each topic area is indicated in brackets. Code List A comprised the interview details (i.e. respondent code number, respondent group code, date, and length of interview).

Respondent Details (Code List B: Q1- 7)

- Q1. Relationship of respondent to other members of household.
- Q2. Age of respondent.
- Q3. Sex of respondent.
- Q4. Household structure (marital status and number of children).
- Q5. WHEC user status.
- Q6. Extent of involvement in community activities.
- Q7. Age at which full-time education completed.

Work Details (Code List C: Q8- 12)

- Q8. Employment status of respondent.
- Q9. Length of employment of WHEC (months).
- Q10. Occupational status/training for WHEC job.
- Q11. Job Previous to WHEC.
- Q12. Reasons for applying for/wanting to work at WHEC.

Experience at WHEC (Code List D: Q13- 25)

- Q13. Differences perceived by pupils between WHEC and previous school(s).
- Q14. Similarities perceived by pupils between WHEC and previous school(s).
- Q15. School experience preferred by pupils.
- Q16. Differences perceived by staff between WHEC and other working environments experienced.
- Q17. Similarities perceived by staff with WHEC and other workplaces.
- Q18. Working environment preferred by staff.
- Q19. Local residents' attitudes to using a school for recreational purposes.
- Q20. Purpose of local residents' visits to WHEC.
- Q21. Frequency of local residents' visits to WHEC.
- Q22. WHEC Facilities used by local residents.
- Q23. Local residents' attitudes to WHEC teachers and staff.
- Q24. Local residents' reasons for WHEC use rather than elsewhere.
- Q25. Local residents' attitudes to WHEC as a leisure facility.

Wester Hailes Community (Code List E: Q26- 30)

- Q26. Evaluation of Wester Hailes as a place to live.
- Q27. Local area of residence in Wester Hailes.
- Q28. Length of residence in Wester Hailes.
- Q29. Aspects of Wester Hailes liked.
- Q30. Aspects of Wester Hailes disliked.

Leisure (Code List F: Q31- 33)

- Q31. Use of spare time outside (school/domestic) work.
- Q32. Motivation factors for each leisure activity mentioned.
- Q33. Past/present participation in (show card giving examples of):
 - A. Clubs and societies; B. Informal educational activities;
 - C. Community activities; D. Formal daytime and evening classes.

Education and Schools (Code List G: Q34- 41)

- Q34. Concept of 'ideal school'.
Perception of the most important aspects of school(s) for:
- Q35. Children.
- Q36. Parents.
- Q37. Teachers and staff.
- Q38. Local authority.
- Q39. Local community.
- Q40. Purposes of schooling (five points selected out and then ranked in order of importance).
- Q41. Future changes in education and schools perceived in the light of trends towards increasing unemployment, more time away from work and modern technological advances.

Community School (Code List H: Q42- 43)

- Q42. Perceptions of the most important features of a community school.
- Q43. Ways in which a community school is perceived as different from an ordinary comprehensive school.

WHEC and Wester Hailes Community (Code List I: Q44- 47)

- Q44. Evaluation of WHEC's impact on the Wester Hailes community.
- Q45. Perceptions of groups/individuals most affected by WHEC.
- Q46. Perceptions of groups/individuals least affected by WHEC.
- Q47. Reasons for own/others non-involvement in WHEC's programme.

Assessment of WHEC (Code List J: Q48- 51)

- Q48. Assessment of WHEC's general development so far.
- Q49. Worries about WHEC's development.
- Q50. Changes/improvements wanted in WHEC.
- Q51. Attitude to more 'community school' developments in the Region.

Local Policy (Code List K: Q52- 58)

- Q52. General evaluation of Lothian Region's community school policy.
- Q52. Main elements of local policy.
- Q54. Main reasons for policy adoption.
- Q55. Problems and constraints for community schooling in Lothian Region.
- Q56. Local opposition to local community school developments.
- Q57. Individuals/groups most supportive of local policy.

APPENDIX B: RESPONDENT PROFILES

The following list of respondent profiles provided for original framework for the selection of respondents for the interview survey. Each profile was allocated a respondent code.

1. Local Residents (IR)

- 1IR: Full-time working father with child(ren) at WHEC, non-user.
- 2IR: Part-time working mother without children at WHEC, user.
- 3IR: Single parent, not working outside the home, non-user.
- 4IR: Part-time working parent with children at WHEC, user, community activist.
- 5IR: Single adult, without children, user.
- 6IR: Regular user of sports/recreational facilities.
- 7IR: Unemployed single male, non-user.
- 8IR: Retired female, user.
- 9IR: WHEC Council member, community or parent representative.
- 10IR: Three WHEC pupils, 5th year.

2. WHEC Staff (S)

- 11IRS: Local resident, skilled manual worker.
- 11S: Non-local, skilled, unskilled manual worker.
- 12IRS: Local resident, manual worker.
- 13IRS: Local resident, teacher. *
- 14S: Community-based professional, non-teaching staff.
- 15S: Recreation-based professional, non-teaching staff.
- 16S: Long experienced teacher, drafted from Forresters School.
- 17S: Teacher, previously working in an ordinary comprehensive school.
- 18S: Newly qualified teacher.
- 19S: Teacher with previous working experience of a community school.
- 20S: Member of WHEC Executive Committee and WHEC Centre Council.

3. Local Government (LG)

- 21LG: Community Education worker, office-based, Adult/Continuing Education responsibilities.
- 22LG: Office-based worker, Community Schools responsibilities.
- 23LG: Head of Community Education service.
- 24LG: Education Department official with responsibilities for WHEC and member of WHEC Centre Council.
- 25LG: Leisure Services Department official with responsibility for WHEC and member of WHEC Centre Council.
- 26LG: Community Education fieldworker in Wester Hailes area.
- 27LG: (Ex-)Chairman of Education Committee with responsibility for the initiation of local community school policy.
- 28LG: Present Chairman of Education Committee with present responsibility for local community school policy.

- * This respondent profile was found to be non-existent since there was no WHEC teacher who, at the time of the interview survey, lived in Wester Hailes. Instead, a teacher was interviewed who had lived in Wester Hailes during the previous school year. The respondent code was changed to 13S.

APPENDIX C: CODING FORM

INTERVIEW DETAILS				RESPONDENT DETAILS															
CODE NO.	C	RESP. GP.	DATE	TIME	C	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6								
						1													
WORK DETAILS				Q8	Q9	Q10			Q7										
Q11	C																		
Q12	C																		
EXPERIENCE OF WHEC				WESTER HAILE'S COMMUNITY															
SCHOOL	Q13 C								Q14 C		Q15								
WORK-PLACE	Q16 C								Q17 C		Q18								
LEISURE	C																		
Q19																			
Q20																			
Q21																			
Q22																			
Q23																			
Q24																			
Q25																			
LEISURE				PAST				PRESENT				FUTURE							
Q31	C	Q32 C																	
EDUCATION AND SCHOOL'S				COMMUNITY SCHOOL				WHEC AND WH. COMMUNITY				ASSESSMENT OF WHEC							
Q34	C								Q42	C		Q43	C						
Q35																			
Q36																			
Q37																			
Q38																			
Q39																			
Q40	5																		
Q41																			
LOCAL POLICY				Q48				Q49				Q50				Q51			
Q52	C																		
Q53																			
Q54																			
Q55																			
Q56																			
Q57																			
Q58																			

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